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'This is an excellent work, and supersedes all that has been done on this author. The lost portions of Tacitus are supplied by original compositions [by Brotier], and interstitial books are added to connect and complete the whole.'—BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MISCELLANY.

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

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These transactions include near four years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
812	59	Caius Vipstanus Apronianus, Lucius Fonteius Capito.
813	60	Nero, fourth time, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.
814	61	Cæsonius Pætus, Petronius Turpilianus.
815	62	P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus.

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These transactions passed in little more than three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
815	62	continued, Marius Celsus, Asinius Gallus.
816	63	Memmius Regulus, Verginius Rufus.
817	64	C. Læcanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus.
818	65	Licinius Nerva Silanus, M. Vestinus Atticus.

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These transactions passed, partly in the former consulship, and in the following year.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
818	65	Silius Nerva, Atticus Vestinus.
819	66	Caius Suetonius Paulinus, Caius Lucius Telesinus.

APPENDIX.

Sect. I. The death of Thrasea, Soranus, and Servilia; the banishment of Paconius and Helvidius—II. Tiridates arrives at Naples, and thence proceeds with Nero to Puteoli; Nero exposes himself as a singer; Tiridates kills a wild beast—III. Tiridates and Nero arrive at Rome; the city illuminated the night before the coronation; the kingdom of Armenia granted to him—IV. The speech of Tiridates; Nero, to gain the applause of the eastern prince, turns coachman, player, and minstrel; he is glad to find a number of the eastern magi in the train of Tiridates, and endeavors to become master of their art, but finds the whole to be an *imposture*—V. Corbulo meets Tiridates on his *way back to Armenia*—VI. Nero shuts the temple of Janus,

but proposes to open it again for four different wars; but amidst his projects, deputies arrive from Greece, offering the prize for song and the guitar; Nero gives them a favorable reception; he was on the point of declaring war against the Jews; but he changes his purpose, and makes great preparations against the Ethiopians and the Albanians; but changing his mind a second time, he sets out for Greece with a prodigious retinue—VII. Account of Nero's conduct in Greece; he plays a variety of characters on the public stage; he gains eighteen hundred laurel crowns for his victories in music; the senate return thanks to the gods—VIII. He travels round the country, but avoids Athens and Sparta; he gives a loose to vice, indulges in new pleasures, and marries Sporus the eunuch—IX. The exhausted finances of the prince supplied by draining the people; the arrogance of Helius, an imperial freedman, who directs every thing at Rome—X. Nero attempts to open a passage for the sea through the isthmus of Corinth; for that purpose a number of Jew prisoners sent by Vespasian to labor at the work; Vespasian appointed commander against the Jews—XI. Helius, who governs every thing at Rome in the absence of Nero, insults the senate and the people; he writes an account to Nero of all that passes, and presses him to return to the capital; Nero forms a design against the life of Corbulo; Arrius Varrus, an officer in Asia, sends an accusation against Corbulo; Corbulo passes into Greece to have an interview with Nero; Corbulo compelled to despatch himself; Nero's labors at the isthmus of Corinth; he embarks for Italy, and arrives at Naples; he enters Rome in triumph—XII. A conspiracy discovered, and the accomplices put to death; a revolt in Gaul; Verginius Rufus defeats the insurrection of Vindex; Galba in secret favored the cause of Vindex, and is much alarmed at his defeat—XIII. Nero resolves to destroy the whole senate; his designs discovered by a favorite slave; the fathers, alarmed for their own safety, prepare to counteract Nero's designs; Nero adjudged to suffer death, as an enemy to his country—XIV. Nero terrified; he is driven to despair, laments his sad condition, and at last puts an *end to his life;* the last and worst of the house of Cæsar—*XV. Prodigies;* the sudden joy, and changeable humors,

of the populace; Nymphidius favors Galba's party, meaning at the same time to seize the sovereignty; he is slain —XVI. Proceedings against all the instruments of Nero's cruelty; Galba informed of the death of Nero; he marches at the head of his army towards Italy, and begins his reign with cruelty and great effusion of blood.

These transactions passed in three years.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
819	66	Suetonius Paulinus, Lucius Telesinus.
820	67	Fonteius Capito, Julius Rufus.
821	68	Silius Italicus, Galerius Trachalus.

HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

Sect. I. Preface to the History—II. Summary view of the whole work; state of the city, the armies, and the provinces—VI. Galba's court, and the reigning vices—VIII. Condition of Spain, Gaul, the Upper and Lower Germany, Syria, Egypt, and Africa; the war against the Jews conducted by Vespasian—XII. Revolt of the legions in Upper Germany; Galba consults about the choice of a successor; different opinions among his ministers, Vinius, Laco, and Icelus, one of his freedmen; Otho has hopes of the nomination—XIV. Choice of Piso for the succession—XV. Galba's speech on the occasion; he declares his adoption of Piso in the camp, and in the senate; ill-timed severity of Galba; an embassy to the German legions—XXI. Otho plans a revolution; he corrupts the pretorian guards; two common soldiers undertake to dispose of the sovereignty; Otho proclaimed emperor—XXIX. Galba, in the mean time, employed in a sacrifice in the capitol; Piso's speech to *the soldiers*—*XXXVII.* Otho harangues the pretorians *in the camp—XL. The* pretorians rush into the city;

Galba murdered—XLII. Death of Titus Vinius; the constancy of a centurion; Piso put to death; Otho received with adulation by the senate and the people—XLVI. All things directed by the soldiers; numbers executed; Marius Celsus saved by the artifice of Otho—XLVIII. Characters of Piso and Titus Vinius—XLIX. Character of Galba—L. Vitellius, before Galba's death, aims at the sovereignty—LI. Origin of the revolt among the German legions; Vitellius saluted emperor; he sends two armies to invade Italy, one under Fabius Valens, and the other under Cæcina; Vitellius follows with a third army; his excessive luxury and stupidity; the cruelty and rapine of Valens and Cæcina—LXIII. The Gauls, partly through fear and partly from inclination, swear fidelity to Vitellius—LXIV. Valens on his march hears of the death of Galba—LXVII. Cæcina attacks the Helvetians, and lays waste the country; he passes over the Penine mountains into Italy—LXXI. Otho's conduct at Rome; he begins to act with vigor—LXXII. Death of Tigellinus, and his character—LXXIV. Letters between Otho and Vitellius; they endeavor to overreach each other; emissaries employed by both; the people of Sarmatia invade the province of Mœsia, and are put to the rout with great slaughter—LXXX. An insurrection of the soldiers at Rome—LXXXIII. Otho's speech to the soldiers—LXXXVI. Portents and prodigies spread a general alarm at Rome—LXXXVII. Otho consults about the operations of the war; he appoints his generals, and sends his fleet to invade the Narbon Gaul—LXXXIX. Melancholy condition of the people at Rome; Otho proceeds on his expedition against the Vitellian forces, and leaves his brother, Salvius Titianus, chief governor of Rome.

These transactions passed in a few months.

Years of Rome.	Of Christ.	Consuls.
822	69	Servius Galba, second time, Titus Vinius Rufinus.

ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

. I. CAIUS VIPSTANUS and Lucius Fonteius succeeded to the consulship. Nero was determined no r to defer the black design which had lain for time fostered in his heart. He had gained in years a taste of power, and was now grown sanenough to think that he might hazard a daring in guilt. His love for Poppæa kindled every › high ardor. To be the imperial wife was the ion of that aspiring beauty; but while Agrippina she could not hope to see Octavia divorced from mperor. She began by whispered calumny to mine the emperor's mother, and at times, in a ıf pleasantry, to alarm the pride and jealousy of

With an air of raillery she called him a pupil ınder tuition; a dependant on the will of others, ıcy guiding the reins of government, but in ŗ deprived of personal liberty. 'For what other ı was her marriage so long deferred? Had her ı already *lost the power* of pleasing? Were the *hal honors obtained* by her ancestors a bar to

her preferment? Or was it supposed that she was not of a fruitful constitution, capable of bearing children? Perhaps the sincerity of her love was called in question. No; the voice of a wife might be heard, and the pride and avarice with which an imperious mother insulted the senate and oppressed the people might be exposed in open day. If, however, it was a settled point with Agrippina that no one but the bosom plague of the emperor should be her daughter-in-law, Poppæa could return to the embraces of Otho;[1] with him she could retire to some remote corner of the world, where she might hear, indeed, of the emperor's disgrace, but at a distance, with the consolation of neither being a spectatress of the scene, nor a sharer in his afflictions.' By these and such like suggestions, intermixed with tears and female artifice, she ensnared the heart of Nero. No one attempted to weaken her influence. To see the pride of Agrippina humbled was the wish of all; but that the son would renounce the ties of natural affection, and imbrue his hands in the blood of his mother, was what never entered the imagination of any man.

II. In the history of those times transmitted to us by Cluvius, we read that Agrippina, in her rage for power, did not scruple to meet the emperor about the middle of the day, as he rose from table, high in blood, and warm with wine. Against the artifices of one woman Seneca resolved to play off the charms of another, and Acte[2] was accordingly employed. The jealousy of the concubine was easily alarmed: she saw her own danger, and the infamy that awaited the prince. Being taught her lesson, she

1 Otho, afterwards emperor. See xiii. 45, 46.
2 Acte has been already mentioned; Annals, xiii. 12.

gave notice to Nero that he was publicly charged with incest, while his mother gloried in the crime. The army, she said, would revolt from a man plunged in vice of so deep a die. Fabius Rusticus differs from this account. If we believe that author, Agrippina did not seek this vile pollution. It was the natural passion of Nero, and Acte had the address to wean him from it. Cluvius, however, is confirmed by the testimony of other writers. The report of common fame is also on his side. Men were willing to believe the worst of Agrippina. If she was not in fact guilty of a design so detestable, a new inclination, however shocking to nature, seemed probable in a woman of her character; who, in the prime of her youth, from motives of ambition, resigned herself to Lepidus; and who afterwards, with the same view, by allying herself with Pallas, proved her capable of the worst of crimes.

III. From this time Nero shunned the presence of his mother. Whenever she went to her gardens, or to either of her seats at Tusculum or Antium, he commended her taste for the pleasures of retirement. At length, detesting her wherever she was, he determined to despatch her at once. How to execute his purpose, whether by poison, or the poniard, was the only difficulty. The former seemed the most advisable; but to administer it at his own table might be dangerous, since the fate of Britannicus was too well known. To tamper with her domestics was equally unsafe. A woman of her cast, practised in guilt, and inured to evil deeds, would be on her guard; and besides, by the habit of using antidotes, she was fortified against every kind of poison. To assassinate her, and yet conceal the murder, was impracticable. Nero had no settled *plan, nor was there* among his creatures a *single person in whom he* could confide.

In this embarrassment Anicetus offered his assistance. This man had a genius for the worst iniquity. From the rank of an enfranchised slave he rose to the command of the fleet that lay at Misenum. He had been tutor to Nero in his infancy, and always at variance with Agrippina. Mutual hostility produced mutual hatred. He proposed the model of a ship on a new construction, formed in such a manner that in the open sea part might give way at once, and plunge Agrippina to the bottom. The ocean, he said, was the element of disasters; and if the vessel foundered, malignity itself could not convert into a crime what would appear to be the effect of adverse winds and boisterous waves. After her decease the prince would have nothing to do but to raise a temple to her memory. Altars and public monuments would be proofs of filial piety.

IV. Nero approved of the stratagem, and the circumstances of the time conspired to favor it. The court was then at Baiæ, to celebrate, during five days, the festival called the Quinquatrua.[1] Agrippina was invited to be of the party. To tempt her thither Nero changed his tone. 'The humors of a parent claimed indulgence; for sudden starts of passion allowance ought to be made, and petty resentments could not be effaced too soon.' By this artifice he hoped to circulate an opinion of his intire reconciliation, and Agrippina, he had no doubt, with the easy credulity of her sex, would be the dupe of a report that flattered her wishes. She sailed from Antium to attend the festival. The prince went to the sea-coast to receive her. He gave her his hand; he embraced her tenderly, and

1 *A feast* in honor of Minerva, beginning March 19th, and *continued for five* days. See Ovid, Fast. iii. 713, 810.

conducted her to a villa called Bauli,[1] in a pleasant situation, washed by the sea, where it forms a bay between the cape of Misenum and the gulf of Baiæ. Among the vessels that lay at anchor, one in particular, more superb than the rest, seemed intended by its decorations to do honor to the emperor's mother. Agrippina was fond of sailing parties. She frequently made coasting voyages in a galley with three ranks of oars, and mariners selected from the fleet. The banquet of which she was to partake was fixed at a late hour, that the darkness of night might favor the perpetration of an atrocious deed.

But the secret transpired: on the first intelligence, Agrippina, it is said, could scarce give credit to so black a story. She chose, however, to be conveyed to Baiæ in a land-carriage. Her fears, as soon as she arrived, were dissipated by the polite address of her son. He gave her the most gracious reception, and placed her at table above himself. He talked with frankness, and, by intermixing sallies of youthful vivacity with more sedate conversation, had the skill to blend the gay, the airy, and the serious. He protracted the pleasures of the social meeting to a late hour, when Agrippina thought it time to retire. The prince attended her to the shore; he exchanged a thousand fond endearments, and clasped her with ardent affection, perhaps intending, under the appearance of filial piety, to disguise his purpose; or, it might be, that the sight of a mother doomed to destruction might make even a heart like his yield, for a moment, to the touch of nature.

1 Bauli, formerly the seat of Hortensius, was famous for great plenty of fish; hence at this day the name of peschiera d'Ortensio.

V. That this iniquitous scene should not be wrapped in darkness, the care of Providence seems to have interposed. The night was calm and serene; the stars shot forth their brightest lustre, and the sea presented a smooth expanse. Agrippina went on board, attended by only two of her domestic train. One of them, Crepereius Gallus, took his place near the steerage; the other, a female attendant, by name Acerronia, stretched herself at the foot of the bed where her mistress lay, and in the fulness of her heart expressed her joy to see the son awakened to a sense of his duty, and the mother restored to his good graces. The vessel had made but little way when, on a signal given, the deck over Agrippina's cabin fell in at once. Being loaded with lead Crepereius was crushed under the weight. The props of the bedroom happening to be of a solid structure, bore up the load, and saved both Agrippina and her servant. Nor did the vessel, as was intended, fall to pieces at once. Consternation, hurry, and confusion, followed. The innocent, in a panic, bustled to and fro, embarrassing and confounding such as were in the plot. To heave the ship on one side, and sink her at once, was the design of the accomplices: but not acting in concert, and the rest making contrary efforts, the vessel went down by slow degrees. This gave the passengers an opportunity of escaping from the wreck, and trusting to the mercy of the waves.

Acerronia, in her fright, called herself Agrippina, and with pathetic accents implored the mariners to save the emperor's mother. The assassins fell on her with their oars, with their poles, and with whatever instruments they could seize. She died under repeated blows. Agrippina hushed her fears; not a *word escaping* from her, she passed undistinguished

by the murderers, without any other damage than a wound on her shoulder. She dashed into the sea, and, by struggling with all her efforts, kept herself above water till the small barks put off from the shore, and, coming in good time to her assistance, conveyed her up the Lucrine lake[1] to her own villa.

VI. She was now at leisure to reflect on the misery of her situation. The treachery of her son's letter, conceived in terms of affection, and his mock civility, were too apparent. Without a gust of wind, and without touching a rock, at a small distance from the shore, the vessel broke down from the upper deck, like a piece of mechanism constructed for the purpose. The death of Acerronia, and the wound which she herself received, were decisive circumstances. But even in that juncture she thought it best to temporise. Against powerful enemies not to see too much is the safest policy. She sent her freedman Agerinus to inform her son that, by the favor of the gods, and the good auspices of the emperor, she had escaped from a shipwreck. The news, she had no doubt, would affect her son; but, for the present, she wished he would forbear to visit her. In her situation, rest was all she wanted. Having despatched her messenger, she assumed an air of courage; she got her wound dressed, and used all proper applications. With an air of ease she called for the last will of Acerronia, and, having ordered an inventory to be made of her effects, secured every thing under her own seal; acting in this single article without dissimulation.

VII. Nero, in the mean time, expected with im-

1 The Lucrine lake, now Lago Lucrino. Agrippina's villa was at Bauli. There is in the neighborhood a place now called *Sepolchro d'Agrippina*.

patience an account of his mother's death. Intelligence at last was brought that she still survived, wounded, indeed, and knowing from what quarter the blow was aimed. The prince heard the news with terror and astonishment. In the hurry of his imagination, he saw his mother already at hand, fierce with indignation, calling aloud for vengeance, and rousing her slaves to an insurrection. She might have recourse to the army, and stir up a rebellion; she might open the whole dark transaction to the senate; she might carry her complaints to the ear of the people. Her wound, the wreck, the murder of her friends, every circumstance would inflame resentment, What course remained for him? Where was Seneca? and where was Burrhus? He had sent for them on the first alarm: they came with expedition; but whether strangers to the plot, remains uncertain. They stood for some time fixed in silence. To dissuade the emperor from his fell design they knew was not in their power; and, in the present dilemma, they saw, perhaps, that Agrippina must fall, or Nero perish. Seneca, though on all other occasions ready to take the lead, fixed his eyes on Burrhus. After a pause, he desired to know whether it were advisable to order the soldiers to complete the business. Burrhus was of opinion that the pretorian soldiers, devoted to the house of Cæsar, and still respecting the memory of Germanicus, would not be willing to spill the blood of his daughter. It was for Anicetus to finish the last act of the tragedy.

That bold assassin undertook the business. He desired to have the catastrophe in his own hands. Nero revived at the sound. From that day, he said, the *imperial dignity* would be his, and that mighty benefit

would be conferred by an enfranchised slave. 'Haste, fly,' he cried; 'take with you men fit for your purpose, and consummate all.' Anicetus heard that a message was sent by Agrippina, and that Agerinus was actually arrived. His ready invention planned a new scene of villany. While the messenger was in the act of addressing the prince he dropped a poniard between his legs, and instantly, as if he had discovered a treasonable design, seized the man, and loaded him with irons, from that circumstance taking color to charge Agrippina with a plot against the life of her son. When she was disposed of, a report that, in despair, she put an end to her life would be an apt addition to the fable.

VIII. Meanwhile, the news of Agrippina's danger spread an alarm round the country. The general cry imputed it to accident. The people rushed in crowds to the sea-shore; they went on the piers that projected into the sea; they filled the boats; they waded as far as they could venture; stretching forth their hands, and calling aloud for help: the bay resounded with shrieks and lamentations, with distracting questions, dissonant answers, and a wild confusion of voices. Amidst the uproar, numbers came with lighted torches. Finding that Agrippina was safe, they pressed forward to offer their congratulations, when a body of armed soldiers, threatening violence, obliged the whole crowd to disperse. Anicetus planted a guard round the mansion of Agrippina, and having burst open the gates, he seized the slaves, and forced his way to her apartment.

A few domestics remained at the door to guard the entrance; fear had dispersed the rest. In the room the pale *glimmer of a feeble* light was seen, and only *one in waiting. Before* the ruffians broke in Agrip-

pina passed the moments in dreadful agitation: she wondered that no messenger had arrived from her son. What detained Agerinus? She listened, and on the coast where, not long before, the whole was tumult, noise, and confusion, a dismal silence prevailed, broken at intervals by a sudden uproar, that added to the horror of the scene. Agrippina trembled for herself. Her servant was leaving the room: she called to her, 'And do you too desert me?' In that instant she saw Anicetus entering the chamber. Herculeus, who had the command of a galley, and Oloaritus, a marine centurion, followed him. 'If you come,' said Agrippina, 'from the prince, tell him I am well: if your intents are murderous, you are not sent by my son; the guilt of parricide is foreign to his heart.' The ruffians surrounded her bed. The centurion of the marines was drawing his sword: at the sight Agrippina presented her person, 'And here,' she said, 'plunge your sword into me.' Herculeus, in that moment, gave the first blow with a club, and wounded her on the head. She expired under a number of mortal wounds.

IX. The facts here related stand confirmed by the concurrent testimony of historians. It is added, but not with equal authority, that Nero beheld his mother stretched in death, and praised the elegance of her form. This however is denied by other writers. The body was laid out on a common couch, such as is used at meals, and, without any other ceremony, burnt that very night. During the life of Nero no honor was offered to her remains; no tomb was erected to tell where she lay; nor was there so much as a mound of earth to inclose the place. After some time an humble monument[1] was raised by her domestics on

1 *It is still called,* as mentioned above, Sepolchro d' Agrippina.

the road to Misenum, near the villa[1] of Cæsar the Dictator, which, from an eminence, commands a beautiful prospect of the sea and the bays along the coast. Mnester, one of the enfranchised slaves of Agrippina, attended the funeral. As soon as the pile was lighted this man, unwilling to survive his mistress, or perhaps dreading the malice of her enemies, despatched himself with his own sword. Of her own dreadful catastrophe Agrippina had warning many years before, when, consulting the Chaldeans about the future lot of her son, she was told that he would reign at Rome, and kill his mother. 'Let him,' she said, 'let him kill me, but let him reign.'

X. This dreadful parricide was no sooner executed than Nero began to feel the horrors of his guilt. He lay, during the rest of the night, on the rack of his own mind; silent, pensive, starting up with sudden fear, wild and distracted. He lifted his eyes in quest of daylight, yet dreaded its approach. The tribunes and centurions, by the advice of Burrhus, were the first to administer consolation. The flattery of these men raised him from despair. They grasped his hand, congratulating him on his escape from the dark designs of his mother. His friends crowded to the temples to offer up their thanks to the gods. The neighboring cities of Campania followed their example. They offered victims, and sent addresses to the prince. Nero played a different part: he appeared with a dejected mien, weary of life, and inconsolable for the loss of his mother. But the face of a country cannot, like the features of man, assume a new appearance. The

1 Marius, Pompey, and Cæsar, had their villas in the neighborhood of Baiæ, all built on the ridge of hills, and looking, *as Seneca says, more like* military works than rural *seats; epist. 51.*

sea and the adjacent coast presented to his eyes a scene of guilt and horror. It was reported at the time that the sound of trumpets was distinctly heard along the ridge of the hills, and groans and shrieks issued from Agrippina's grave. Nero removed to Naples, and from that place despatched letters to the senate, in substance as follows:

XI. 'Agerinus, the freedman of Agrippina, and of all her creatures the highest in her confidence, was found armed with a poniard; and the blow being prevented, with the same spirit that planned the murder of her son, she despatched herself.' The letter proceeded to state a number of past transactions: 'Her ambition aimed at a share in the supreme power, and the pretorian bands were obliged to take an oath of fidelity to her. The senate and the people were to submit to the same indignity, and bear the yoke of female tyranny. Seeing her schemes defeated, she became an enemy to the fathers, to the soldiers, and the whole community; she neither suffered a donative to be distributed to the army, nor a largess to the populace. At her instigation prosecutions were set on foot against the best and most illustrious men in Rome. If she did not enter the senate, and give audience to the ambassadors of foreign nations,[1] all would remember how that disgrace was prevented.' The reign of Claudius did not escape his animadversion; but whatever were the enormities of that period, 'Agrippina,' he said, 'was the cause of all. Her death was an event in which the good fortune of the empire was signally displayed.' He gave a circumstantial account of the shipwreck: but what man existed, so absurd and stupid, as to believe it the effect of chance? Was it

1 *See her* attempt prevented by Seneca; Annals, xiii. 5.

probable that a woman, who had just escaped from the fury of the waves, would send a single ruffian to attempt the life of a prince surrounded by his guards and his naval officers? The indignation of the public was not confined to Nero: with regard to him, who had plunged in guilt beyond all example, it was useless to complain. Censure was lost in mute astonishment. The popular odium fell on Seneca: his pen was seen in the prince's letters, and the attempt to gloss and varnish so vile a deed was considered as the avowal of an accomplice.

XII. The voice of the people did not restrain the adulation of the senate. Several decrees were passed in a strain of servile flattery; such as supplications and solemn vows at all the altars throughout the city of Rome: the festival called the Quinquatrua (during which the late conspiracy was detected) was to be celebrated, for the future, with the addition of public games; the statue of Minerva, wrought in gold, to be placed in the senate-house, with that of the emperor near it; and finally, the anniversary of Agrippina's birthday to be unhallowed in the calendar. Pætus Thrasea had been often present when the fathers descended to acts of meanness, and he did not rise in opposition; but on this occasion he left his seat, and walked out of the house, by his virtue provoking future vengeance, yet doing no service to the cause of liberty.

There happened about this time a number of prodigies, all deemed striking prognostics, but no consequences followed. A woman was delivered of a serpent. The sun suffered an eclipse,[1] and the fourteen quarters

1 This eclipse *was the day before* the kalends of May, that

of Rome were struck with lightning. In these extraordinary appearances the hand of Providence, it is evident, did not interpose; since the vices and tyranny of Nero continued to harass mankind for several years. The policy of the prince had now two objects in view: the first, to blacken the memory of his mother; and the second, to amuse the people with a show of his own clemency, when left, without control, to the bent of his own inclination. To this end he recalled from banishment, to which they had been condemned by the vindictive spirit of Agrippina, two illustrious women, namely, Junia,[1] and Calpurnia, together with Valerius Capito, and Licinius Gabolus, both of pretorian rank. He permitted the ashes of Lollia Paulina[2] to be brought to Rome, and a mausoleum to be erected to her memory. To Iturius and Calvisius,[3] whom his own violence had driven into exile, he granted a free pardon. Silana[4] had paid her debt to nature. Towards the end of Agrippina's life, when the power of that princess began to decline, or her resentment to be appeased, she had obtained leave to return from her distant exile as far as Tarentum. At that place she closed her days.

XIII. Nero loitered in the towns of Campania, full of doubt and perplexity, unable to determine how he should enter the city of Rome. Would the senate receive him with a submissive and complying spirit?

is, April 30th, A. U. C. 812; of the Christian era 59. See Pliny, ii. 70.

1 For Junia Calvina, see Annals, xii. 8. For Calpurnia, Annals, xii. 22.

2 For Lollia Paulina, see Annals, xii. 22.

3 Iturius and Calvisius banished by Nero; Annals, xiii. 22.

4 *Silana was* also banished by Nero; Annals, xiii. 22.

Could he rely on the temper of the people? These were points that made him anxious and irresolute. The vile advisers of his court (and never court abounded with so pernicious a race) interfered to animate his drooping spirit. They assured him, with confidence, that the name of Agrippina was held in detestation, and since her death the affections of the people for the person of the emperor knew no bounds. He had only to show himself, and it would be seen that he reigned in the hearts of the multitude. To prepare the way, they desired leave to enter the city of Rome before him.

On their arrival they found all things favorable beyond their hopes; they saw the several tribes going forth in procession to meet the prince; the senate in their robes of state; whole crowds of women, with their children, ranged in classes according to their respective ages, in the streets through which Nero was to pass; rows of scaffolding built up, and an amphitheatre of spectators, as if a triumph were to enter the city. Nero made his entry, flushed with the pride of victory over the minds of willing slaves, and proceeded, amidst the acclamations of gazing multitudes, to the capitol, where he offered thanks to the gods. From that moment he threw off all restraint. The authority of his mother, feeble as it was, had hitherto curbed the violence of his passions: but that check being now removed, he broke out at once, and gave a full display of his character.

XIV. To acquire the fame of a charioteer, and to figure in the race with a curricle and four horses, had been long the favorite passion of Nero. He had besides another frivolous talent: he could play on the harp, and *sing to his own* performance. With this *pitiful ambition he had been* often the minstrel of con-

vivial parties. He justified his taste by observing, that 'in ancient times, it had been the practice of heroes and of kings. The names of illustrious persons, who consecrated their talents to the honor of the gods, were preserved in immortal verse. Apollo was the tutelar deity of melody and song; and, though invested with the higher attributes of inspiration and prophecy, he was represented, not only in the cities of Greece, but also in the Roman temples, with a lyre in his hand, and the dress of a musical performer.' The rage of Nero for these amusements was not to be controlled. Seneca and Burrhus endeavored to prevent the ridicule to which a prince might expose himself by exhibiting his talents to the multitude. By their direction a wide space in the vale at the foot of the Vatican[1] was inclosed for the use of the emperor, that he might there manage the reins, and practise all his skill, without being a spectacle for the public eye. But his love of fame was not to be confined within those narrow bounds. He invited the multitude. They extolled with raptures the abilities of a prince who gratified their darling passion for public diversions.

The two governors were in hopes that their pupil, as soon as he had his frolic, would be sensible of the disgrace; but the effect was otherwise. The applause of the populace inspired him with fresh ardor. To keep himself in countenance, he conceived, if he could bring the practice into fashion, that his own infamy would be lost in the disgrace of others. With this view, he cast his eye on the descendants of families once illus-

1 This was a circus begun by Caligula and finished by *Nero. The* church of St. Peter is built on this spot, and the *obelisk which* stood there was placed before St. Peter's at a *vast expense* by Pope Sixtus V.

trious, but at that time fallen to decay. From that class of men he selected the most necessitous, such as would be easily tempted to let themselves out for hire. He retained them as actors, and produced them on the public stage. Their names I forbear to mention: though they are now no more, the honor of their ancestors claims respect. The disgrace recoils on him who chose to employ his treasure, not for the noble end of preventing scandal, but to procure it. Nor was he willing to stop here: by vast rewards he bribed several Roman nights to descend into the arena, and present a show to the people. The situation of these unhappy men deserves our pity; for what are the bribes of an absolute prince but the commands of him who has power to compel?

XV. Nero was not as yet hardy enough to expose his person on a public stage. To gratify his passion for scenic amusements, and at the same time to save appearances, he established an entertainment, called the Juvenile Sports. To promote this institution numbers of the first distinction enrolled their names. Neither rank, nor age, nor civil honors, were an exemption. All degrees embraced the theatrical art, and, with emulation, became the rivals of Greek and Roman mimicry; proud to languish at the soft cadence of effeminate notes, and to catch the graces of wanton deportment. Women of rank[1] studied the most lascivious characters. In the grove planted round the lake, where Augustus gave his naval engagement, booths and places of recreation were erected, to pamper luxury, and inflame desire. By the prince's orders sums of money were distributed. Good men, through

1 We are told by Dio *that* Ælia Catella, a woman of fourscore, *exposed herself and* old age to scorn, by dancing on *the stage, among the court* sycophants of the time; Dio, lxi.

motives of fear, accepted the donation; and to the profligate, whatever ministered to sensuality was sure to be acceptable. Luxury and corruption triumphed.

The manners, it is true, had long before this time fallen into degeneracy; but in these new assemblies a torrent of vice bore down every thing, beyond the example of former ages. Even in better days, when science and the liberal arts had not intirely lost their influence, virtue and modesty could scarce maintain their post; but in an age that openly professed every species of depravity what stand could be made by truth, by innocence, or by modest merit? The general corruption encouraged Nero to throw off all restraint. He mounted the stage, and became a public performer for the amusement of the people. With his harp in his hand he entered the scene; he tuned the chords with a graceful air, and with delicate florishes gave a prelude to his art. He stood in a circle of his friends, a pretorian cohort on guard, and the tribunes and centurions near his person. Burrhus was also present, pleasure in his countenance, and anguish at his heart. He grieved while he applauded. At this time was instituted a company of Roman knights under the title of The Augustan Society,[1] consisting of young men in the prime of life, some of them libertines from inclination, and others hoping by their profligacy to gain preferment. They attended night and day to applaud the prince: they admired the graces of his person; and in the various notes of that exquisite voice they heard the melody of the gods, who were all excelled by the enchanting talents of the prince. The tribe of sycophants assumed airs of grandeur,

1 *Suetonius* says that the leaders of this new society had *salaries of* forty thousand sesterces allowed them; in Neron. *§ 20.*

swelling with self-importance, as if they were all rising to preferment by their genius and their virtue.

XVI. Theatrical fame was not sufficient for the ambition of Nero: he wished to excel in poetry. All who possessed the art of versification were assembled to assist his studies. In this society of wits, young men, not yet qualified by their years to figure in the world, displayed the first essays of their genius. They met in the dearest intimacy. Scraps of poetry, by different hands,[1] were brought to the meeting, or composed on the spot; and those fragments, however unconnected, they endeavored to weave into a regular poem, taking care to insert the words and phrases of the emperor, as the most brilliant ornaments of the piece. That this was their method appears from a perusal of the several compositions, in which we see rhapsody without genius, verse without poetry, and nothing like the work of one creative fancy. Nor was philosophy disregarded by the emperor. At stated hours, when his convivial joys were finished, the professors of wisdom were admitted. Various systems were dogmatically supported; and to see the followers of different sects quarrel about an hypothesis was the amusement of Nero. He saw besides, among the venerable sages, some with formal mien and looks of austerity, who under an air of coyness plainly showed that they relished the pleasures of a court.

XVII. About this time a dreadful fray broke out between the inhabitants of Nuceria and Pompeii, two Italian colonies. The dispute, slight in the beginning, soon rose to violence, and terminated in

1 Brotier *compares this poetical* patchwork to the *bouts-rimés, which exercised the minor* poets of France in the last *century.*

blood. It happened that Livineius Regulus,[1] who, as already mentioned, had been expelled the senate, gave a spectacle of gladiators. At this meeting jests and raillery, and the rough wit of country towns, flew about among the populace; abuse and scurrility followed; altercation excited anger; anger rose to fury; stones were thrown; and finally they had recourse to arms. The people of Pompeium, where the spectacle was given, were too strong for their adversaries. The Nucerians suffered in the conflict. Numbers of their friends, covered with wounds, were sent to Rome. Sons wept for their parents, and parents for their children. The senate, to whom the matter was referred by the prince, directed an inquiry before the consuls, and, on their report, passed a decree, prohibiting for the space of ten years the like assemblies at Pompeium; and, moreover, dissolving certain societies established in that city, and incorporated contrary to law. Livineius and others, who appeared to be ringleaders in the riot, were ordered into banishment.

XVIII. At the suit of the Cyrenians, Pedius Blæsus[2] was expelled the senate. The charge against him was, that he had pillaged the sacred treasure of Æsculapius, and in the business of listing soldiers had been guilty of receiving bribes, and committing various acts of gross partiality. A complaint was preferred by the same people against Acilius Strabo, a man of pretorian rank, who had been sent a commissioner by the emperor Claudius, with powers to ascertain the boundaries of the lands which formerly be-

1 It does not appear when this man was expelled the senate. The account of that affair is lost. It is probable that *this is the* Livineius Regulus who is mentioned Annals iii. 11.

2 *He* was afterwards restored to his rank; Hist. i. 77.

longed to king Apion,[1] and were by him bequeathed, with the rest of his dominions, to the Roman people. Various intruders had entered on the vacant possession, and from occupancy and length of time hoped to derive a legal title. The people, disappointed in their expectations, appealed from the sentence of Strabo. The senate, professing to know nothing of the commission granted by Claudius, referred the business to the decision of the prince. Nero ratified the award made by Strabo; but, to show a mark of good-will to the allies of Rome, he restored the lands in question to the persons who had been dispossessed.

XIX. In a short time after died Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, two illustrious citizens, eminent for the civil honors which they attained, and not less distinguished by their eloquence. Afer had been a shining ornament of the bar: Servilius entered the same career; but having left the forum, gave a signal proof of his genius by a well-digested history of Roman affairs. Elegant in his life and manners, he formed a contrast to the rough character of Afer, to whom in point of genius he was every way equal, in probity and morals his superior.[2]

XX. Nero entered on his fourth consulship, with Cornelius Cossus for his colleague. On the model of the Greek olympics he instituted public games to be celebrated every fifth year, and for that reason called quinquennial.[3] In this, as in all cases of innovation,

1 This African king, according to Livy, epitome lxx., died A. U. C. 658, and left all his possessions to the Roman people.

2 Domitius Afer was a man of ambition, willing to advance his fortune by the worst of crimes; Annals, iv. 52. He is praised by Quintilian as an orator of considerable eloquence. See *the Dialogue concerning* Oratory.

3 *Suetonius informs us* that Nero was the first that insti-

the opinions of men were much at variance. By such as disliked the measure it was observed, ' that even Pompey, by building a permanent theatre,[1] gave offence to the thinking men of that day. Before that period an occasional theatre, with scenery and benches to serve the purpose, was deemed sufficient; and, if the inquiry were carried back to ancient times, it would be found that the spectators were obliged to stand during the whole representation. The reason was, that the people, accommodated with seats, might be tempted to waste whole days in idle amusements. Public spectacles were indeed of ancient origin, and, if still left to the direction of the pretor, might be exhibited with good order and propriety. But the new mode of pressing the citizens of Rome into the service of the stage had ruined all decorum. The manners had long since degenerated; and now, to work their total subversion, luxury was called in from every quarter of the globe; foreign nations were ransacked for the incentives of vice; and whatever was in itself corrupt, or capable of diffusing corruption, was to be found at Rome. Exotic customs and a foreign taste infected the young men of the time; dissipation, gymnastic arts, and infamous intrigues, were the fashion, encouraged by the prince and the senate, and not only encouraged, but established by their sanction, enforced by their authority.

' Under color of promoting poetry and eloquence, the patricians of Rome disgraced themselves on the

tuted, in imitation of the Greeks, a trial of skill in the three several arts of music, wrestling, and horse-racing, to be performed every five years, which he called Neronia; in Neron. *§ 12.*

1 *This theatre* has been mentioned, xiii. 54. It was built *A. U. C. 699.*.

public stage. What farther step remained? Nothing, but to bare their bodies; to anoint their limbs; to come forth naked in the lists; to wield the cæstus, and throwing aside their military weapons, fight prizes for the entertainment of the rabble. Will the sanctity of the augur's office, or the judicial character[1] of the Roman knights, edify by the manners now in vogue? Will the former be held in higher reverence because he has been lately taught to thrill with ecstasy at the soft airs of an effeminate song? And will the judge decide with greater ability because he affects to have a taste, and to pronounce on music? Vice goes on increasing; the night is added to the day; and, in mixed assemblies, the profligate libertine, under covert of the dark, may safely gratify the base desires which his imagination formed in the course of the day.'

XXI. Licentious pleasure had a number of advocates; all of them the apologists of vice disguised under specious names. By these men it was argued, 'that the citizens of Rome, in the earliest period, were addicted to public shows, and the expense kept pace with the wealth of the times. Pantomime players[2] were brought from Tuscany, and horse-races[3] from Thurium. When Greece and Asia were reduced to subjection, the public games were exhibited with greater pomp: though it must be acknowleged, that

1 Among the Roman knights there were four decuriæ appointed to exercise jurisdiction. Suetonius says that Caligula, to relieve the judges from the fatigue of business, added a fifth class to the former four; in Calig. § 16.

2 The pantomime performers were brought to Rome from Tuscany, A. U. C. 390; Livy, vii. 2.

3 The people called *Thurii* inhabited part of Lucania. The spectacle of horse-races was invented by them, and exhibited at Rome, A. U. C. 140; Livy, i. 35.

in two hundred years (the time that elapsed from the triumph of Lucius Mummius,[1] who first introduced theatrical representations) not one Roman citizen of rank or family was known to degrade himself by listing in a troop of comedians. But it is also true that, by erecting a permanent theatre, a great annual expense was avoided. The magistrate is now no longer obliged to ruin his private fortune for the diversion of the public. The whole expenditure is transferred to the state, and, without encumbering a single individual, the people may enjoy the games of Greece. The contests between poets and orators would raise a spirit of emulation, and promote the cause of literature. Nor will the judge be disgraced if he lends an ear to the productions of genius, and shares the pleasures of a liberal mind. In the quinquennial festival lately instituted, a few nights, every fifth year, would be dedicated, not to criminal gratifications, but to social gaiety, in a place fitted for a large assembly, and illuminated with such a glare of light that clandestine vice would by consequence be excluded.'

Such was the argument of the advocates for dissipation. It is but fair to acknowlege that the celebration of the new festival was conducted without any offence against decency or good manners. Nor did the rage of the people for theatrical entertainments break out into any kind of excess. The pantomime performers, though restored to the theatre, were still excluded from such exhibitions as were held to be of a sacred nature. The prize of eloquence was not adjudged to any of the candidates; but it was thought a fit compliment to the emperor to pronounce him

1 *Lucius* Mummius conquered Corinth, A. U. C. 608, and *obtained the* title of Achaicus; Velleius Paterc. i. 13.

nqueror. The Grecian garb, which was much in gue during the festival, gave disgust, and from that me fell into disuse.

XXII. A comet having appeared in this juncture, at phenomenon, according to the popular opinion, nounced that governments were to be changed, and ngs dethroned. In the imaginations of men Nero as already deposed, and who should be his successor as the question. The name of Rubellius Plautus re-unded in every quarter. By the maternal line this ninent citizen was of the Julian house. A strict ob-rver of ancient manners, he maintained a rigid aus-rity of character. Recluse and virtuous in his fa-ily, he lived remote from danger, but his fame from ie shade of obscurity shone forth with brighter lustre. he report of his elevation was confirmed by an acci-ent, slight in itself, but by vulgar error received as sure prognostic. While Nero was at table at a illa called Sublaqueum,[1] on the borders of the Sim-ruine lakes, it happened that the victuals which had een served up received a stroke of lightning, and ie banquet was overturned. The place was on the onfines of Tivoli, where the ancestors of Plautus by is father's side derived their origin. The omen, for iat reason, made a deeper impression, and the cur-ent opinion was that Plautus was intended for im-erial sway. The men whom bold, but often mis-uided, ambition leads to take an active part in revo-utions of government, were all on his side. To sup-ress a rumor so important, and big with danger, Nero sent a letter to Plautus, advising him 'to con-ult the public tranquillity, and withdraw himself

1 This place received *its* name from its proximity to the imbr*uine lakes, and was thence* called Sublaqueum. Bro-*er says it is now La Badia* di Sublaco.

from the reach of calumny. He had patrimonial lands in Asia, where he might pass his youth, remote from enemies, and undisturbed by faction.' Plautus understood the hint, and with his wife Antistia and a few friends embarked for Asia.

In a short time after Nero, by his rage for new gratifications, put his life in danger, and drew on himself a load of obloquy. He chose to bathe at the fountain-head of the Marcian waters,[1] which had been brought to Rome in an aqueduct of ancient structure. By this act of impurity he was thought to have polluted the sacred stream, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place. A fit of illness which followed this frolic left no doubt in the minds of the populace. The gods, they thought, pursued with vengeance the author of so vile a sacrilege.

XXIII. We left Corbulo employed in the demolition of Artaxata. That city being reduced to ashes, he judged it right, while the consternation of the people was still recent, to turn his arms against Tigranocerta. The destruction of that city would spread a general panic; or, if he suffered it to remain unhurt, the fame of his clemency would add new laurels to the conqueror. He began his march, and, that the barbarians might not be driven to despair, preserved every appearance of a pacific disposition, still maintaining discipline with the strictest rigor. He knew by experience that he had to do with a people prone to change: cowards in the hour of danger, but, if occasion offered, prepared by their natural genius for a stroke of perfidy. At the sight of the Roman eagles the Armenians were variously affected. They sub-

1 The Marcian waters were conveyed to Rome in aqueducts *of great* labor and expense, by Ancus Marcius, one of *the Roman kings.* See Pliny, xxxi. 3.

itted with humble supplications: they fled from their llages; they took shelter in their woods; and num- rs, carrying off all that was dear to them, sought a treat in their dens and caverns. To these different ovements the Roman general adapted his measures: the submissive he behaved with mercy: he ordered ie fugitives to be pursued with vigor; but for such lay hid in subterraneous places he felt no com- assion. Having filled the entrances and every vent f the caverns with bushes and faggots, he set fire to ie heap. The barbarians perished in the flames. lis march lay on the frontier of the Mardians, a race f freebooters, who lived by depredation, secure on ieir hills and mountains from the assaults of the nemy. They poured down from their fastnesses, and nsulted the Roman army. Corbulo sent a detach- ient of the Iberians to lay waste their country; and hus at the expense of foreign auxiliaries, without pilling a drop of Roman blood, he punished the in- olence of the enemy.

XXIV. Corbulo had suffered no loss in the field of attle; but his men, exhausted by continual toil, and rced, for want of grain and vegetables, to subsist ltogether on animal food, began to sink under their atigue. The heat of the summer was intense: no ater to allay their thirst: long and laborious marches till remained; and nothing to animate the drooping pirits of the army but the example of their general, ho endured more than even the common soldiers. hey reached at length a well-cultivated country, and arried off a plentiful crop. The Armenians fled for helter to two strong castles. One of them was taken y storm; the other, after resisting the first assault, as by a close blockade obliged to surrender. The *my marched into the* territories of the Tauranitians.

In that country Corbulo narrowly escaped a snare for his life. A barbarian, of high distinction ar his people was found lurking with a concealed da near the general's tent. He was instantly sei and, being put to the rack, not only confessed hi the author of the plot, but discovered his accomp The villains who, under a mask of friendship, n tated a foul assassination, were on examination f guilty of the treachery, and put to death. Amb dors arrived soon after from Tigranocerta, with i ligence that their gates stood open to receive the man army, and the inhabitants were ready to su at discretion. As an earnest of hospitality and fri ship they presented a golden crown. Corbulo rece it with all marks of honor. To conciliate the a tions of the people he did no damage to their city, left the natives in full possession of their effects.

XXV. The royal citadel, which was considere the stronghold of the Armenian kings, did not im diately surrender. A band of stout and resolute y men threw themselves into the place, determine hold out to the last. They had the spirit to sally but, after a battle under the walls, were driven within their lines, and the Romans entering s in hand, the garrison laid down their arms. This of success, however rapid, was in a great measure warded by the war that kept the Parthians engage Hyrcania. From the last-mentioned country an sadors had been sent to Rome, soliciting the all of the emperor; and, as an inducement, urging in consequence of their rupture with Vologeses, had made a powerful diversion in favor of the R army: the deputies, on their way back to their country, had an interview with Corbulo. The ge received them with marks of friendship; and fea

they passed over the Euphrates, that they might fall ı with detached parties of the Parthian army, he rdered them to be escorted under a military guard as ır as the margin of the Red sea.[1] From that place ıeir road was at a distance from the Parthian fron- .er.

XXVI. Meanwhile Tiridates,[2] after a march through he territory of the Medians, was hovering on the ex- remities of Armenia, intending from that quarter to ıvade the country. To counteract his motions Cor- ılo despatched Verulanus with the auxiliary forces; ınd, to support him, made a forced march at the head ıf the legions. Tiridates retired with precipitation, ınd in despair abandoned the war. The Roman gene- al proceeded with severity against all who were known o be disaffected: he carried fire and sword through heir country, and took on himself the government of Armenia. The whole kingdom was reduced to sub- ection, when Tigranes arrived from Rome, by the ıppointment of Nero, to assume the regal diadem.

The new monarch was by birth a Cappadocian, of ıigh nobility in that country, and grandson to king Archelaus;[3] but the length of time which he had passed ıt Rome in condition of a hostage broke the vigor of ıis mind, and sunk him to the meanest servility. He was not received with the consent of the nation. A ıtrong party still retained their old affection for the line of the Arsacides; but an inveterate antipathy to the Parthians, on account of their pride and arrogance,

1 The shortest way to Hyrcania was by the Caspian sea; but, for the reason given by Tacitus, the Red sea was thought more eligible.

2 Tiridates was brother to Vologeses, the Parthian king. See Annals, xii. 51; *xiii. 37.* 41.

3 *Archelaus was king of* Cappadocia. See Annals, ii. 42.

inclined the majority to accept a king from Rome. Corbulo placed Tigranes on the throne, and assigned him a body guard, consisting of a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts from the allied forces, and two squadrons of horse. That his new kingdom might not prove unwieldy, parts of the country, as they happened to lie contiguous to the neighboring princes, were parcelled out to Pharasmanes,[1] to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus. Having made these arrangements, Corbulo marched back into Syria, to take on him the administration of that province, vacant by the death of Ummidius Quadratus, the late governor.

XXVII. In the course of the same year Laodicea, a celebrated city in Asia, was destroyed by an earthquake; and though Rome in so great a calamity contributed no kind of aid, it was soon rebuilt, and, by the internal resources of the inhabitants, recovered its former splendor. In Italy, the ancient city of Puteoli received new privileges, with the title of the Neronian colony. The veteran soldiers intitled to their discharge from the service were incorporated with the citizens of Tarentum and Antium; but the measure did not increase population in those deserted places. The soldiers rambled back to the provinces where they had formerly served; and, by the habits of a military life, being little inclined to conjugal cares and the education of children, the greatest part mouldered away without issue. The old system of colonisation was at this time greatly altered. Intire legions were not, as had been the practice, settled together, with their tribunes, their centurions, and soldiers, in one regular body, forming a society of men known to each

1 *Pharasmanes* has been often mentioned as king of Iberia; *Polemon king of* Pontus; Aristobulus king of Armenia *Minor; and* Antiochus of Comagene.

id by sentiments of mutual affection inclined
ith a spirit of union. A colony, at the time
k of, was no more than a motley mixture,
gether from different armies, without a chief
head, without a principle to unite them, and,
no better than a mere conflux of people from
arts of the globe; a wild heterogeneous mul-
ut not a colony.

III. The election of pretors had been hitherto
to the discretion of the senate; but the spirit
etition breaking out with unusual violence,
terposed his authority. He found three can-
more than usual. By giving to each the com-
f a legion[1] he allayed the ferment. He also
considerable addition to the dignity of the
y an ordinance requiring that, in all appeals
inferior judicature to that assembly, a sum
o what was customary in like cases before the
· should be deposited by the appellant, to
e final determination. Before this rule was
ed an appeal to the fathers was open to all;
being subject to costs or any kind of penalty.
the end of the year Vibius Secundus, a Ro-
ght, was accused by the Moors[3] of rapine and
n; and, being found guilty of the charge, was
l out of Italy. For so mild a sentence he was
l to the weight and influence of his brother,
Crispus.[4]

mius says Nero struck off the supernumerary can-
nd, to make them some compensation for the delay
opes, assigned them posts of honor in the legions;
. § 15.
sum, by way of penalty for a frivolous and vexa-
eal, was one-third of the money in dispute between
es.
eople of *Mauritania*.
account of Vibius Crispus, an advocate who accu-

XXIX. During the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus[1] a dreadful calamity befell the army in Britain. Aulus Didius,[2] as has been mentioned, aimed at no extension of territory, content with maintaining the conquest already made. Veranius, who succeeded him, did little more: he made a few incursions into the country of the Silures, and was hindered by death from prosecuting the war with vigor. He had been respected during his life for the severity of his manners; in his end the mask fell off; and his last will discovered the low ambition of a servile flatterer, who in those moments could offer incense to Nero; and add, with vain ostentation, that if he lived two years it was his design to make the whole island obedient to the authority of the prince. Paulinus Suetonius succeeded to the command; an officer of distinguished merit. To be compared with Corbulo was his ambition. His military talents gave him pretensions, and the voice of the people, who never leave exalted merit without a rival, raised him to the highest eminence. By subduing the mutinous spirit of the Britons he hoped to equal the brilliant success of Corbulo in Armenia. With this view he resolved to sub-

mulated immense riches, see the Dialogue concerning Oratory, § 8.

1 Petronius Turpilianus, during his consulship, was the author of a law called *Lex Petronia*, by which the master was no longer at liberty, at his will and pleasure, to compel any of his slaves to fight the wild beasts; but a just ground of complaint appearing before the proper magistrate, that mode of punishment was enforced. He was also the author of a decree, called the Turpilian Decree, by which all who began a prosecution, and either harassed the defendant by delays, or abandoned the cause, were subjected to heavy penalties. Two regulations so just, that it is wonderful, says Brotier, how they escaped the notice of Tacitus.

2 *For the* inactivity and unwarlike spirit of Aulus Didius, *see Annals*, xii. 40; and life of Agricola, § 14.

e the isle of Mona;[1] a place inhabited by a warlike
ople, and a common refuge for all the discontented
itons. In order to facilitate his approach to a diffi-
lt and deceitful shore he ordered a number of flat-
ttomed boats to be constructed. In these he wafted
er the infantry; while the cavalry, partly by fording
er the shallows, and partly by swimming their
rses, advanced to gain a footing on the island.

XXX. On the opposite shore stood the Britons,
ose embodied, and prepared for action. Women
ere seen rushing through the ranks in wild disorder:
eir apparel funereal; their hair loose to the wind;
their hands flaming torches; and their whole ap-
arance resembling the frantic rage of the Furies.
he Druids[2] were ranged in order, with hands up-
ted, invoking the gods, and pouring forth horrible
precations. The novelty of the sight struck the
omans with awe and terror. They stood in stupid
nazement, as if their limbs were benumbed, riveted
one spot, a mark for the enemy. The exhortations
the general diffused new vigor through the ranks;
d the men, by mutual reproaches, inflamed each
her to deeds of valor. They felt the disgrace of
ielding to a troop of women and a band of fanatic
iests: they advanced their standards, and rushed on
the attack with impetuous fury. The Britons pe-
shed in the flames which they themselves had kin-
led. The island fell, and a garrison was established
retain it in subjection. The religious groves, dedi-
ated to superstition and barbarous rites, were levelled
the ground. In those recesses the natives imbrued
eir altars with the blood of their prisoners, and in

1 Mona, now *Anglesey*.
2 *For an account of the* Druids, see Cæsar's Commentaries.

the entrails of men explored the will of the gods. While Suetonius was employed in making his arrangements to secure the island he received intelligence that Britain had revolted, and that the whole province was up in arms.

XXXI. Prasutagus,[1] the late king of the Icenians, in the course of a long reign had amassed considerable wealth. By his will he left the whole to his two daughters and the emperor in equal shares; conceiving, by that stroke of policy, that he should provide at once for the tranquillity of his kingdom and his family. The event was otherwise. His dominions were ravaged by the centurions: the slaves pillaged his house; and his effects were seized as lawful plunder. His wife, Boadicea, was disgraced with cruel stripes; her daughters were ravished; and the most illustrious of the Icenians were by force deprived of the possessions which had been transmitted to them by their ancestors. The whole country was considered as a legacy bequeathed to the plunderers. The relations of the deceased king were reduced to slavery. Exasperated by these acts of violence, and dreading worse calamities, the Icenians had recourse to arms. The Trinobantians joined in the revolt. The neighboring states, not as yet taught to crouch in bondage, pledged themselves, in secret councils, to stand forth in the cause of liberty. What chiefly fired their indignation was the conduct of the veterans lately planted as a colony at Camalodunum. These men treated the Britons with cruelty and oppression: they drove the natives from their habitations; and, calling them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives, added in-

1 *Prasutagus*, king of the Icenians. The outrages committed by the Romans are strongly painted by the late Mr. *Glover, after his master Tacitus.*

sult to their tyranny. In these acts of oppression the veterans were supported by the common soldiers; a set of men, by their habits of life trained to licentiousness, and, in their turn, expecting to reap the same advantages. The temple built in honor of Claudius was another cause of discontent. In the eye of the Britons it seemed the citadel of eternal slavery. The priests appointed to officiate at the altars, with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the whole substance of the country. To overrun a colony, which lay quite naked and exposed, without a single fortification to defend it, did not appear to the incensed and angry Britons an enterprise that threatened either danger or difficulty. The fact was, the Roman generals attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the useful. They embellished the province, and took no care to defend it.

XXXII. While the Britons were preparing to throw off the yoke the statue of Victory, erected at Camalodunum, fell from its base without any apparent cause, and lay extended on the ground with its face averted, as if the goddess yielded to the enemies of Rome. Women, in restless ecstasy, rushed among the people, and with frantic screams denounced impending ruin. In the council chamber of the Romans[1] hideous clamors were heard in a foreign accent; savage howlings filled the theatre, and near the mouth of the Thames the image of a colony[2] in ruins was seen in the transparent water: the sea was purpled with blood; and at

1 The world at that time was overcast by the gloom of superstition. The Romans often knew how to avail themselves of it; but the barbarians in this instance had the advantage.

2 Houses seemed to be inverted in the water; but the laws of optics were not considered by the Britons. In their minds *every thing was a prognostic.*

the tide of ebb the figures of human bodies were traced on the sand. By these appearances the Romans were struck in despair, while the Britons anticipated a glorious victory. Suetonius, in the mean time, was detained in the isle of Mona. In this alarming crisis the veterans sent to Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, for a reinforcement. Two hundred men, and those not completely armed, were all that officer could spare. The colony had but a handful of soldiers. Their temple was strongly fortified, and there they hoped to make a stand. But even for the defence of that place no measures were concerted. Secret enemies mixed in all their deliberations. No fosse was made; no palisade thrown up: nor were the women, and such as were disabled by age or infirmity, sent out of the garrison. Unguarded and unprepared, they were taken by surprise; and, in the moment of profound peace, overpowered by the barbarians in one general assault. The colony was laid waste with fire and sword.

The temple held out; but, after a siege of two days, was taken by storm. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the relief of the place. The Britons, flushed with success, advanced to give him battle. The legion was put to the rout, and the infantry cut to pieces. Cerealis escaped with the cavalry to his intrenchments. Catus Decianus, the procurator of the province, alarmed at the scene of carnage which he beheld on every side, and farther dreading the indignation of a people whom by rapine and oppression he had driven to despair, betook himself to flight, and crossed over into Gaul.

XXXIII. Suetonius, undismayed by this disaster, *marched through* the heart of the country as far as

London,[1] a place not dignified with the name of a colony, but the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce. At that place he meant to fix the seat of war; but reflecting on the scanty numbers of his little army, and the fatal rashness of Cerealis, he resolved to quit that station, and, by giving up one post, secure the rest of the province. Neither supplications nor the tears of the inhabitants could induce him to change his plan. The signal for the march was given. All who chose to follow his banners were taken under his protection. Of all who, on account of their advanced age, the weakness of their sex, or the attractions of the situation, thought proper to remain behind, not one escaped the rage of the barbarians. The inhabitants of Verulamium,[2] a municipal town, were in like manner put to the sword. The genius of a savage people leads them always in quest of plunder; and, accordingly, the Britons left behind them all places of strength. Wherever they expected feeble resistance and considerable booty, there they were sure to attack with the fiercest rage. Military skill was not the talent of barbarians. The number massacred in the places which have been mentioned amounted to no less than seventy thousand, all citizens or allies of Rome. To make prisoners, and reserve them for slavery, or to exchange them, was not in the idea of a people who despised all the laws of war. The halter and the gibbet, slaughter and de-

1 London even at that time was the seat of trade and commerce. If it has gone on increasing for above 1700 years, till it is now become the greatest city in the world, it is because industry has been protected by a constitution, which has improved during the whole time, and is now the wonder and the envy of surrounding nations.

2 *Verulanum, now Verulam,* near St. Albans, in Hertfordshire. *The great Bacon* has made the name immortal.

solation, fire and sword, were the marks of savage valor. Aware that vengeance would overtake them, they were resolved to make sure of their revenge, and glut themselves with the blood of their enemies.

XXXIV. The fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and the auxiliaries from the adjacent stations, having joined Suetonius, his army amounted to little less than ten thousand men. Thus reinforced, he resolved, without loss of time, to bring on a decisive action. For this purpose he chose a spot encircled with woods, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest. In that situation he had no fear of an ambuscade. The enemy, he knew, had no approach but in front. An open plain lay before him. He drew up his men in the following order: the legions in close array formed the centre; the light-armed troops were stationed at hand to serve as occasion might require: the cavalry took post in the wings. The Britons brought into the field an incredible multitude. They formed no regular line of battle. Detached parties and loose battalions displayed their numbers, in frantic transport bounding with exultation, and so sure of victory, that they placed their wives in waggons at the extremity of the plain, where they might survey the scene of action, and behold the wonders of British valor.

XXXV. Boadicea,[1] in a warlike car, with her two daughters before her, drove through the ranks. She harangued the different nations in their turn: 'This,' she said, 'is not the first time that the Britons have been led to battle by a woman. But now she did not come to boast the pride of a long line of ancestry, nor even to recover her kingdom and the plundered wealth

1 *Dio has put into* the mouth of Boadicea a long, a tedious, *and enervated speech.*

of her family. She took the field, like the meanest among them, to assert the cause of public liberty, and to seek revenge for her body seamed with ignominious stripes, and her two daughters infamously treated. From the pride and arrogance of the Romans nothing is sacred: all are subject to violation: the old endure the scourge, and the virgins are abused. But the vindictive gods are now at hand. A Roman legion dared to face the warlike Britons: with their lives they paid for their rashness: those who survived the carnage of that day lie poorly hid behind their intrenchments, meditating nothing but how to save themselves by an ignominious flight. From the din of preparation, and the shouts of the British army, the Romans, even now, shrink back with terror. What will be their case when the assault begins? Look round, and view your numbers. Behold the proud display of warlike spirits, and consider the motives for which we draw the avenging sword. On this spot we must either conquer or die with glory. There is no alternative. Though a woman, my resolution is fixed; the men, if they please, may survive with infamy, and live in bondage.'

XXXVI. Suetonius, in a moment of such importance, did not remain silent. He expected every thing from the valor of his men, and yet urged every topic that could inspire and animate them to the attack. 'Despise,' he said, 'the savage uproar, the yells and shouts of undisciplined barbarians. In that mixed multitude the women outnumber the men. Void of spirit, unprovided with arms, they are not soldiers who come to offer battle; they are dastards, runaways, the refuse of your swords, who have often fled before you, and will again betake themselves to flight when they see the conqueror flaming in the ranks of war. In all engagements it is the valor of a few that turns

the fortune of the day. It will be your immortal glory, that with a scanty number you can equal the exploits of a great and powerful army. Keep your ranks; discharge your javelins; rush forward to a close attack; bear down all with your bucklers, and hew a passage with your swords. Pursue the vanquished, and never think of spoil and plunder. Conquer, and victory gives you every thing.' This speech was received with warlike acclamations. The soldiers burned with impatience for the onset, the veterans brandished their javelins, and the ranks displayed such an intrepid countenance, that Suetonius, anticipating the victory, gave the signal for the charge.

XXXVII. The engagement began. The Roman legion presented a close embodied line. The narrow defile gave them the shelter of a rampart. The Britons advanced with ferocity, and discharged their darts at random. In that instant the Romans rushed forward in the form of a wedge. The auxiliaries followed with equal ardor. The cavalry, at the same time, bore down on the enemy, and with their pikes overpowered all who dared to make a stand. The Britons betook themselves to flight, but their waggons in the rear obstructed their passage. A dreadful slaughter followed. Neither sex nor age was spared. The cattle, falling in one promiscuous carnage, added to the heaps of slain. The glory of the day was equal to the most splendid victory of ancient times. According to some writers not less than eighty thousand Britons were put to the sword. The Romans lost about four hundred men, and the wounded did not exceed that number. Boadicea, by a dose of poison, put a period to her life. Pænius Posthumus, prefect in the camp[1] *of the second* legion, as soon as he heard of the brave

1 *According* to Camden, the camp of the second legion

exploits of the fourteenth and twentieth legions, felt the disgrace of having, in disobedience to the orders of his general, robbed the soldiers under his command of their share in so complete a victory. Stung with remorse, he fell on his sword, and expired on the spot.

XXXVIII. Suetonius called in all his forces; and having ordered them to pitch their tents, kept the field in readiness for new emergencies; intending not to close the campaign till he put an end to the war. By directions from the emperor a reinforcement of two thousand legionary soldiers, eight auxiliary cohorts,[1] and a thousand horse, arrived from Germany. By this accession of strength the ninth legion was completed. The cohorts and cavalry were sent into new quarters; and the country round, wherever the people had declared open hostility, or were suspected of treachery, was laid waste with fire and sword. Famine was the evil that chiefly distressed the enemy: employed in warlike preparations, they had neglected the cultivation of their lands; depending altogether on the success of their arms, and the booty which they hoped to seize from the Romans. Fierce and determined in the cause of liberty, they were rendered still more obstinate by the misunderstanding that subsisted between the Roman generals. Julius Classicianus had succeeded to the post vacant by the sudden flight of Catus Decianus. Being at variance with Suetonius, he did not scruple to sacrifice the public good to pri-

was in Monmouthshire, at a place called by the Britons Kaer Lheion, *Urbs Legionis*, the city of the legion. The place where this battle was fought is not ascertained; but it is evident that Suetonius had collected his forces from all quarters.

1 *There is reason to infer from* a passage in the History, i. 59, *that the eight auxiliary cohorts* were Batavians.

vate animosity. He spread a report that another commander-in-chief might be soon expected; and in his the Britons would find a man who would bring with him neither ill-will to the natives nor the pride of victory: the vanquished would, by consequence, meet with moderation and humanity. Classicianus did not stop here: in his dispatches to Rome he pressed the necessity of recalling Suetonius: the war would otherwise never be brought to a conclusion by an officer who owed all his disasters to his own want of conduct, and his success to the good fortune of the empire.

XXXIX. In consequence of these complaints Polycletus, one of the emperor's freedmen, was sent from Rome to inquire into the state of Britain. The weight and authority of such a messenger Nero flattered himself would produce a reconciliation between the hostile generals, and dispose the Britons to a more pacific temper. Polycletus set out with a large retinue; and on his journey through Italy and Gaul, made his grandeur a burden to the people. On his arrival in Britain he overawed the Roman soldiers; but his magnificent airs and assumed importance met with nothing from the Britons but contempt and derision. Notwithstanding the misfortunes of the natives, the flame of liberty was not extinguished. The exorbitant power of a manumitted slave was a novelty which those ferocious islanders could not digest. They saw an army that fought with valor, and a general who led them on to victory; but both were obliged to wait the nod of a wretched bondsman. In the report made by this man the state of affairs was such as gave no jealousy to Nero. Suetonius therefore was continued in his government. It happened, in a short time afterwards, that a few ships were wrecked on the coast, and all w

ırd perished in the waves. This was considered as alamity of war, and on that account Suetonius was alled. Petronius Turpilianus, whose consulship l just then expired, succeeded to the command. ıder him a languid state of tranquillity followed. e general saw the passive disposition of the Britons, l not to provoke hostilities was the rule of his con- ːt. He remained inactive, content to decorate his nt of enterprise with the name of peace.

XL. This year was remarkable for two atrocious nes; one the act of a senator, and the other perpe- ted by the daring spirit of a slave. Domitius Bal- ı, of pretorian rank, was at that time far advanced years. His wealth, and his want of issue, made ı obnoxious to the arts of ill-designing men. His ıtion, Valerius Fabianus, a man high in rank, and ːly to obtain the first honors of the state, forged his l. To give color to the fraud he drew into his plot ıcius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, two Roman ghts, who chose to act in concert with Antonius mus [1] and Asinius Marcellus. Antonius was a mpt and daring spirit, ready for any mischief. rcellus was grandson to the renowned Asinius Pol- : his character was, till that time, without a stain; his favorite maxim was, that poverty is the worst ːvils.[2] In the presence of those conspirators, and ər witnesses of inferior note, Fabianus sealed the l. The fraud being brought to light before the ıte, the author of it, with three of his accomplices, ıely, Antonius, Rufinus, and Terentius, were con-

[1] Antonius Primus will be seen, in the History of Tacitus, ng the part of an able general.

[2] The man who thinks poverty the worst of evils will not ong before *he thinks honesty* a ragged virtue. Seneca *left a very different maxim*: 'Si vis vacare animo, aut *er sis oportet, aut pauperi similis*;' Epist. xvii.

demned to suffer the penalties of the Cornelian la Marcellus found in the favor of the prince, and t dignity of his ancestors, a powerful protection. was saved from punishment, not from infamy.

XLI. The same day was fatal to two others of ra and distinction. Pompeius Ælianus, a young man w had already passed with honor through the office questor, was charged as an accessary in the guilt Fabianus. He was banished, not only from Italy, b from Spain, the place of his birth. Valerius Pontic met with equal severity. The crime alleged against h was, that, with a design to elude the jurisdiction of t prefect of Rome, he had accused several delinquents b fore the pretor; intending, in the first instance, und color of a legal process, and afterwards, by abando ing the prosecution, to defeat the ends of justice. T fathers added a clause to their decree, whereby persons concerned either in procuring or conducti for hire a collusive action, were to be treated as pub prevaricators,[2] and to suffer the pains and penalti inflicted by the law on such as stood convicted of false and calumnious accusation.

XLII. The second daring crime that marked t year, as mentioned above, was the act of a slav This man murdered his master, Pedanius Secundu at that time prefect of the city. His motive for th desperate act was either because his liberty, after bargain made,[3] was still withheld, or, being enamor

1 The Cornelian law was enacted by Cornelius Sylla t dictator, who made banishment to an island the sentence be passed on all who should suppress a true will, or forge false one. It appears however in the History, ii. 86, th Antonius was only expelled the senate.

2 *That punishment* was either exile, relegation to an islan *or degradation* from the offender's rank.

3 *Slaves* were in the habit of saving money in orde

reign pathic, he could not endure his master as
ıl. Every slave in the family where the murder
mmitted was by ancient usage subject to capital
ment; but the populace, touched with compas-
r so many innocent men, opposed the execution
ıge and tumult little short of a seditious insur-
. In the senate many of the fathers embraced
pular side, but the majority declared for the
f the law without innovation. In the debate on
:casion Caius Cassius[1] spoke to the following

II. 'I have been often present, conscript fa-
when motions have been made in this assembly
w decrees, repugnant to the laws in being, and
subversive of all ancient establishments. To
measures I made no opposition, though well
ced that the regulations made by our ancestors
he best, the wisest, the most conducive to the
good. To change that system is to change for
›rse. This has ever been my settled opinion;
forbore to take a part in your debates, that I
not be thought bigoted either to antiquity or to
'n way of thinking. I had another reason for
ıduct. The weight and influence which I flat-
myself I had acquired in this assembly might,
quently troubling you, lose its effect. I deter-
therefore to reserve myself for some important
cture, when my feeble voice might be of use.
:onjuncture occurs this very day. A man of
ar rank, without a friend to assist him, without
e person to oppose the ruffian's blow, no notice
no discovery made, has been in his own house

ıe their freedom. See the case of Paris the comedian,

's Cassius has been mentioned to his honor, xii. 12.

barbarously murdered. The law which dc slave under the roof to execution is still Repeal that law, and, if you will, let th deed pass with impunity; but when you he which of us can think himself safe? Who on his rank or dignity, when the first m your city dies under the assassin's stroke? hope to live in security amongst his slave large a number as four hundred could not danius Secundus? Will our domestics assi hour of need, when we see, in the instance that neither their own danger nor the ter law could induce them to protect their mas it be said that the murderer struck his blow a personal injury? What was the injury ternal estate of a ruffian, perhaps, was in the foreign pathic, whom they were goin from him, descended to him from his an that be so, the deed was lawful; and, by cc we, conscript fathers, ought to pronounce i homicide.

XLIV. 'But let me ask you, are we, a of day, to support by argument what has settled by the wisdom of ages? Suppose dispute were a new question, to be now the first time; can we imagine that a ruffia formed a black design to murder his maste whole so closely locked up in his breast, agitations of a guilty mind, nothing escapec Not a menace, not so much as a rash word alarm? Nothing, we are told, of this sort we are to believe that the assassin brood horrible purpose in sullen silence; that l *his dagger* unseen by every eye, and that *slaves* knew nothing of it. Be it so: did

seen through the train of attendants that guarded the bedchamber? Did he open the door unperceived by all? Did he enter with a light, and strike the mortal blow, without the knowlege of any person whatever?

'Between the first design and the final execution of evil deeds symptoms of guilt are often seen. If our slaves are faithful, if they give timely intelligence, we may live secure in our houses; or if we must fall by the murderer's dagger, it is a satisfaction to know that justice will overtake the guilty. The mind and temper of the slave, though born on the master's estate, or even in his house, imbibing with his first milk affection and gratitude to the family, were always suspected by our ancestors. At present we have in our service whole nations of slaves; the scum of mankind, collected from all quarters of the globe: a race of men who bring with them foreign rites, and the religion of their country, or, probably, no religion at all. In such a conflux, if the laws are silent, what protection remains for the master? But it is said the innocent may suffer with the guilty. To this I answer, when an army, seized with a general panic, turns its back on the enemy, and, to restore military discipline, the men are drawn out and decimated; what distinction is then made between the gallant soldier and the coward who fled from his post? In political justice there is often something not strictly right; but partial evil is counterbalanced by the good of the whole.'

XLV. To this reasoning no reply was made, and yet a murmur of disapprobation ran through the assembly. The number doomed to suffer, their age, their sex, and the undoubted innocence of the greatest part, awakened sentiments *of compassion*; but the majority

was for letting the law [1] take its course. T
prevailed. The popular cry was still for n
rabble rose in a tumultuous body, and witl
firebrands stopped the execution. To qu
Nero issued a proclamation, and by his orde
were lined with soldiers under arms. T
victims suffered death. Cingonius Varro
even the freedmen, who were actually in t
the time of the murder, should, by a de
senate, be banished out of Italy. To thi
swered, that since mercy was not allowed
the system of ancient laws, to increase
by new pains and penalties, would be
cruelty.

XLVI. During the same consulship,
Priscus, at the suit of the people of Bi
convicted of extortion, and condemned to
tution. The senate remembered the viol
man in the prosecution against Statilius
own proconsul in Africa, and now retali
vindictive spirit. The people in both the
reviewed and rated by Quintus Volusius, S
canus, and Trebellius Maximus. The two f
with family pride, passed their time in mutu
thwarting each other, and struggling for pr
They looked down with contempt on Trel
their petty animosities served only to deg
selves, and give to their colleague a deci
ority.

XLVII. In the course of this year die
Regulus, distinguished by his virtues, a
blemished character. Admired for his co

1 *See* a decree of the senate on this subject,
32.

unshaken firmness, he rose to as high a pitch of credit and authority as can be attained under a government, where the grandeur of the prince throws a shade over the merit of every private citizen. As a proof of this, we have the following anecdote. Nero being confined with a fit of illness, the tribe of sycophants, fluttering about his person, poured forth the anguish of their hearts; and, 'if any thing happened to the emperor, the day,' they said, 'that put a period to his life would be the last of the empire.'—'No,' replied the prince, 'a pillar of the state will still remain.' The courtiers stood at gaze, wondering who that person could be. Nero told them, 'Memmius Regulus is the man.' Strange as it may seem, Regulus survived that opinion of his virtue. In his love of retirement he found a retreat from danger. A man, whose family had lately risen to honors, gave no alarm; and his fortune raised no envy. It was in the same year that Nero dedicated a gymnasium,[1] or public school for athletic exercises, and, with the obliging facility of Greek manners, gave orders that the senators and Roman knights, without any expense on their part, should be provided with oil, to prepare their limbs for that elegant exhibition.

XLVIII. During the consulship of Publius Marius and Lucius Asinius a prosecution was set on foot against Antistius, then invested with the office of pretor. The conduct of this man, when tribune of the people, has been already mentioned. The charge against him was, that being the author of sarcastic verses against the emperor, he produced his poem to a

1 Pliny the elder, xv. 4, says that the Greeks, the inventors of every kind *of vice*, were the first that made oil subservient *to the corruption of* manners, by distributing it at *their public spectacles.*

large company at the table of Ostorius Sc
this libel he was arraigned on the law
The cause was conducted by Cossutianus
had been lately raised by the interest o
his father-in-law, to the senatorian orde
of majesty had fallen into disuse, and was
for the first time in the reign of Nero, not,
gined, to make Antistius feel its severity;
to give the emperor an opportunity, after
death was passed, to interpose his tribuni
rity, and, by preventing the execution, ad
to his name. Ostorius Scapula was calle
ness. He remembered nothing of the ve
tion. The evidence of others was believed
on Junius Marcellus, consul elect, mov
criminal, divested in the first instance o
ship, should suffer death according to
force,[3] and the practice under former em
rest of the senate concurring in the sa
Pætus Thrasea rose to oppose the motion
with honorable mention of the prince; no
on him to defend the conduct of Antisti
contrary, he blamed the licentious spirit o
terms of severity; but under a virtuous
in a senate left to act with independence,
he said, was not the magnitude of the cri

1 Capito was formerly accused by the peo
and convicted of oppression and extortion; A

2 The tribunitian power was assumed by A
said, for the purpose of protecting the people
It was in fact the whole executive power of t
in one man, who could at his will and pleasu
senate and all the magistrates.

3 By this judgment Antistius was to suffer
that is, as Suetonius explains it, to be fasten
by the neck within a forked stick, and scou
Suet. in Neron. § 49.

ient the rigor of the law would warrant. The
›ner, the gibbet, and the halter, were, for some
known at Rome. Other pains and penalties
:ovided by law, and those might be inflicted
branding the judges with cruelty, and the age
army. Antistius may be condemned to banish-
his effects may be confiscated. Let him pass
ainder of his days in one of the islands. His
that situation, will be protracted misery. He
:re continue to languish in exile, a burden to
, yet a living monument of the equity and
tion of the times.

K. The firmness with which Thrasea delivered
iments inspired the senate with the same ardor.
isul put the question, and the fathers divided.[1]
ajority voted with Thrasea. The dissentients
it a small number. Amongst them was Aulus
s;[2] of all the flattering crew, the most corrupt
vile; fluent in invective; eager to attack the
minent character, and ever sure, with the con-
f a little mind, to shrink from the reply. He
is adversary with silent patience. The consuls,
r, did not presume to close the business by a
in form: they chose to make their report to the
r, and wait his pleasure. Nero for some time
d between shame and resentment. At length
ver was, 'That Antistius, without provocation,
cause of complaint, had distilled the venom of
on the name and character of his sovereign.

senate often decided, without calling on each mem-
is opinion, by dividing the house. Pliny the younger
s the manner of doing it: 'You who think so, go to
; as many as are of a contrary opinion, go to this

was Vitellius, afterwards emperor.

The matter had been referred to the senate, and justice required a punishment adequate to the crime. Nevertheless, as it had been from the first his resolution to mitigate a rigorous sentence, he would not now control the moderation of the fathers. They might determine, as to their wisdom should seem meet. They were even at liberty to acquit the criminal altogether.' From this answer it was evident that the conduct of the senate had given offence at court. The consuls, however, were not inclined to alter their report. Thrasea maintained his former opinion, and all who had voted with him followed his example. Some were unwilling, by a change of sentiment, to expose the prince to the popular odium; others thought themselves safe in a large majority; and Thrasea, with his usual elevation of mind, would not recede from the dignity of his character.

L. On a charge of the same complexion as the former Fabricius Veiento[1] was involved in similar danger. In certain writings, which he called the last wills of persons deceased, he had inserted strokes of satire reflecting on several members of the senate, and others of the sacerdotal order. Talius Geminus was the prosecutor. He added another allegation, charging, that the criminal abused his credit at court, and disposed of the favors of the prince, and the honors of the state, by bargain and sale, for his own private emolument. This last article roused the resentment of Nero: he removed the cause to his own tribunal. Veiento was banished out of Italy. His books were condemned to the flames, but eagerly sought, and universally read. Men perused with avidity what was procured with

1 *This man* was one of the pernicious race of informers in *the reign of Domitian.* Juvenal mentions him, sat. iv. 123.

anger. When no longer prohibited, the work sunk ıto oblivion.

LI. Meanwhile, the public grievances went on with ıcreasing violence, and the means of redress di-ınished every day. Burrhus died at this time, hether in the course of nature, or by poison, cannot ow be known. The general opinion ascribed his eath to a fit of illness. He was seized with a dis-rder in the throat, and the inflammation in the glands velling to a prodigious size, suffocation followed. here was however a current report that, under a retence of administering a proper gargle, poison was ıixed in the medicine by order of Nero, and that ;urrhus, having discovered the villany, as soon as he erceived the prince entering his room, turned from im with aversion, and to all inquiries shortly an-wered, 'I am well at present.' He died universally ımented. His virtues were long remembered, and ıng regretted. Nor was the public grief alleviated y the two persons who succeeded to his employments, amely, Fenius Rufus and Sofonius Tigellinus;[1] the ırmer a man of undoubted innocence, but the inno-ence that proceeds from want of spirit. Tigellinus ood distinguished by a life of debauchery, and the ıfamy of his character. Rufus owed his advance-ıent to the voice of the people, who were pleased ith his upright management of the public stores. igellinus was a favorite of the emperor. The early ices of the man recommended him to notice. The ommand of the pretorian guards, which had been in-rusted to Burrhus only, was granted to those two by

1 Tigellinus rose from obscurity to be in high favor with Nero. He was the grand teacher of debauchery and every vice. Juvenal has *recorded* him, sat. i. 155. See an account *of the prodigious banquet given* by this man, Annals, xv. 37.

a joint commission. The impression which they had given of their characters was confirmed by their conduct in office. Tigellinus gained an absolute ascendant over the mind of a debauched and profligate emperor. In all scenes of revelry he was a constant companion. Rufus obtained the good-will of the soldiers and the people, but his merit ruined him with the prince.

LII. By the death of Burrhus Seneca lost the chief support of his power. The friend of upright measures was snatched away, and virtue could no longer make head against the corruption of a court governed altogether by the wild and profligate. By that set of men Seneca was undermined. They blackened his character, and loaded him with various imputations. 'His wealth was exorbitant, above the condition of a private citizen; and yet his unappeasable avarice went on without intermission, every day grasping at more. His rage for popularity was no less violent. He courted the affections of the people, and by the grandeur of his villas, and the beauty of his gardens, hoped to vie with imperial splendor. In matters of taste and genius he allows no rival. He claims the whole province of eloquence as his own; and since Nero showed his taste for poetry, from that moment Seneca began to court the muse,[1] and he too has his copy of verses.

'To the other diversions of the prince he is a avowed, an open enemy. The skill of the charioteer provokes his raillery: he sneers at the management of horses; and the melody of the prince's voice is a subject for his wit and ridicule. In all this what is his drift? Why, truly, that in the whole extent of the empire there should be nothing worthy of praise but

1 *It is not* settled among the critics whether Seneca did *not write some* of the tragedies that bear this name.

at flows from his superior talents. But Nero is longer the pupil of this subtle philosopher: he has ined the prime season of manhood, and may now card his tutor. He has before his eyes the brightest del for his conduct, the example of his own illustri- ancestors.'

III. These insidious arts were not unknown to eca. There were still at court a few in the interest irtue, and from such men he received intelligence ll that passed. Finding that the prince had with- wn his friendship, and no longer admitted him to conversation, he demanded an audience, and spoke the following effect: 'It is now, Cæsar, the four- nth year since I was placed near your person; of ur reign it is the eighth. In that space of time you ve lavished on me both wealth and honors, with so eral a hand, that to complete my happiness nothing w is necessary but moderation and contentment. In humble request which I presume to make, I shall e the liberty to cite a few examples, far, indeed, ove my condition, but worthy of you. Augustus, ur illustrious ancestor, permitted Marcus Agrippa retire to Mitylene:[1] he allowed Mæcenas to live nost a stranger in Rome, and in the heart of the y[2] to dwell as it were in solitude. The former of se illustrious men had been the companion of his rs; the latter supported the weight of his adminis- tion: both, it is true, received ample rewards, but wards fairly earned by great and eminent services.

1 Agrippa, in the year of Rome 731, retired to the isle of sbos, now Metelin.

2 Mæcenas had a house and magnificent gardens near Mount quiline. Pliny says that the practice of having pleasure ounds within the walls of a city was unknown till Epicurus l the way at *Athens*. The gardens of Epicurus are become *verbial.*

For myself, if you except some attainments in literature, the fruit of studies pursued in the shade of retirement, what merit can I assume? My feeble talents are supposed to have seasoned your mind with the first tincture of letters, and that honor is beyond all recompense.

'But your liberality knows no bounds. You have loaded me with favors and with riches. When I reflect on your generosity, I say to myself, Shall a man of my level, without family pretensions, the son of a simple knight, born in a distant province,[1] presume to rank with the grandees of Rome? My name, the name of a new man, figures among those who boast a long and splendid line of ancestors. Where is now the mind which long since knew that to be content with little is true happiness? The philosopher is employed in laying out gardens,[2] and improving pleasure-grounds. He delights in the extent of ample villas; he enjoys a large rent-roll, and has sums of money[3] laid out at interest. I have but one apology; your munificence was a command, and it was not for me to resist.

LIV. 'But the measure of generosity on your part, and submission on mine, is now complete. What a prince could give you have bestowed; what a friend could take I have received. More will only serve to

1 Seneca was a native of Spain; born at Corduba, now Cordova.

2 Seneca had a number of villas and extensive gardens. Juvenal mentions

Magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos.—Sat. x. 16.

The name of one of his villas was Nomentanum, as appears, epist. 110.

3 This confirms the account given by Dio of his immoderate riches; but perhaps that historian exaggerates when he imputes insurrections in Britain to the exactions of Seneca.

ate envy, and inflame the malice of my enemies. indeed tower above the passions of ill-designing ; I am open to their attacks ; I stand in need of ection. In a campaign, or on a march, if I found elf fatigued and worn out with toil, I should not ate to sue for some indulgence. Life is a state of are: it is a long campaign, in which a man in s, sinking under a load of cares, and even by his es made obnoxious, may crave leave to retire. I willing to resign my wealth: let the auditors of imperial revenue take the account, and let the le return to its fountain-head. By this act of self- al I shall not be reduced to poverty ; I shall part that superfluity which glitters in the eyes of my nies: and for the rest, the time which is spent in mproving of gardens and the embellishing of villas, all transfer to myself, and for the future lay it out ie cultivation of my mind. You are in the vigor our days; a long train of years lies before you. ull possession of the sovereign power, you have at the art of reigning. Old age may be permitted eek repose. It will hereafter be your glory that knew how to choose men of moderation, who d descend from the summit of fortune to dwell peace and humble content in the vale of life.'

V. Nero replied as follows: 'If I give an imme- e answer to a speech of prepared eloquence, the er of doing it I derive from you. The faculty of king, not only when the matter has been preme- ed, but also on sudden occasions, I possess (if I ossess it) by your care and instruction. Augus- it is true, released Agrippa and Mæcenas from fatigue of business; but he did it at a time when uthority was established on the firmest basis, and wn *experience was* equal to the cares of govern-

ment. He did not, however, resume the grants which he had made. What those eminent citizens obtained they deserved in war and civil commotions; for in those busy scenes Augustus passed his youth. Had my lot been the same, your sword would not have been idle. What the conjuncture demanded you supplied; you formed my mind to science, and you assisted me with your wisdom and advice. The advantages which I derive from you are not of a perishable nature; they will cleave to me through life. As to the favors which it was in my power to grant, such as houses, gardens, and sums of money, they are precarious gifts, subject to accidents and the caprice of fortune. Presents of that kind may seem magnificent; but they fall short of what I have bestowed on others, who had neither your accomplishments nor your merit. I could mention freedmen who florish in higher splendor; but I blush to name them. I blush that you, who are the first in my esteem, should not at the same time be the first man in my dominions.

LVI. 'I grant that you are advanced in years, but the vigor of your constitution is still unbroken. You are equal to business, and the fruit of your labors you can still enjoy. My reign is but just begun; and what has been my liberality? Vitellius was three times consul,[1] and Claudius was his friend: are you to be deemed inferior to the former? and must I, in point of munificence, yield to the latter? Volusius,[2] by a long life of parsimony, raised an immoderate fortune; and shall not my generosity put you on a level

1 In the Annals, xi., we have seen Vitellius consul for the third time.

2 Volusius has been mentioned as an honest man, who acquired *his* wealth by honorable means, and lived to a great *age*; *Annals*, xiii. 30.

ıan of that description? The impetuosity of
ay hurry me beyond the bounds of prudence:
ıen be yours to recall my wandering steps, and
to the paths of honor. You helped to form
hful understanding, and to what you polished
l gave life and energy. If you resign your
can you suppose that your moderation will be
the cause? If you desert your prince, will
e of quiet be thought the motive? Far other-
ıy avarice will be arraigned; my cruelty will
general topic. The praise, indeed, of wisdom
sue you in your retreat; but will it be gene-
build your fame on the disgrace and ruin of
end?'

s flattering speech Nero added fond embraces,
the external marks of affection. Inclined by
o disguise his sentiments, and by habit ex-
in the arts of dissimulation, he knew how to
der the surface of friendship the secret malice
eart. Seneca answered in a submissive tone.
rned his best thanks, the usual close of every
ce in the cabinet of the prince. He resolved
to change his mode of living: he resigned
er, and retained no appearance of his former
: the crowd of visitors no longer frequented
e: he dismissed his train of followers, and
ly appeared abroad, willing to be considered
irm old man, obliged to take care of his health
; or a philosopher, absorbed in abstract specu-

Seneca's influence was now in its wane. To
credit of Fenius Rufus was the next object.
his enemies found no difficulty. The crime
attached to Agrippina was sufficient. Tigel-
the mean time, rose to the highest pitch of

credit and influence at court. Possessing a genius for every mischief, and having no other talents, he resolved to draw the prince into a confederacy in guilt. Congenial vices he had no doubt would render him still more dear to his master. With this view he began to watch the passions of Nero, and to explore the secrets of his heart. He found that the two persons whom the emperor dreaded most were Plautus and Sylla; both lately removed out of Italy; the former into Asia, and the latter to Narbon Gaul. Tigellinus began his secret hostilities against them both. He talked of their rank and high descent. Plautus, he observed, was not far distant from the armies in the east; and Sylla was near the legions in Germany. For himself, he had not, like Burrhus, the art of managing parties for his own private advantage. The welfare of his sovereign was his only object. At Rome, he could insure the safety of the prince. If plots were formed, by vigilance and activity they might be crushed in the bud. But for distant provinces who could answer? The name of Sylla, rendered famous by the celebrated dictator of that name, would rouse and animate the people of Gaul. In Asia the grandson of Drusus[1] would have a number of adherents, and might, by consequence, excite the nations to a revolt. Sylla indeed was indigent and distressed; but his very poverty would be a source of courage, a motive for vigorous enterprise; and though he seemed to languish in repose and indolence, his love of ease was a cloak to cover his ambition. He waited for an opportunity to avow his dark designs.

Plautus, on the other hand, possessed immoderate wealth. To lead a sluggish life was not in his temper

1 *Rubellius* Plautus was the son of Rubellius Blandus and *Julia.*

or his character: he did not even affect it. He copied, with emulation, the manners of the ancient Romans, and to his austerity added the maxims of the stoic sect: a sect at all times fond of public commotions, proud, fierce, and turbulent. By this reasoning Nero was convinced. No delay intervened. Assassins were despatched. On the sixth day they landed at Marseilles, where, without notice, or so much as a hint to alarm him, Sylla was taken by surprise at his own table, and instantly murdered. His head was conveyed to Rome. Nero amused himself at the sight; he saw that the hairs were grown grey before their time, and in that circumstance found a subject for mirth and brutal raillery.

LVIII. The murder of Plautus could not be executed with equal secrecy. His friends were numerous, and his life was valuable to many. The place lay remote: a voyage was to be performed, and, in the mean time, the plot began to transpire. A report prevailed at Rome that Plautus had put himself under the protection of Corbulo, who was then at the head of powerful armies; a man, in that evil period, when merit and innocence were capital crimes, likely to fall a devoted victim. The rumor farther added, that in favor of Plautus all Asia was up in arms, and that the ruffians sent from Rome had either failed in their resolution, or, not finding themselves in force, had gone over to the opposite party. The whole story was without foundation; but, according to custom, credulity swallowed it, and idle men added from their own invention. Plautus, in the mean time, received intelligence of the design against his life by one of his freedmen, who, having the advantage of a fair wind, *got the start of the centurions* despatched by Nero. *This faithful servant* was sent by Lucius Antistius, his

master's father-in-law, with advice that no time to be lost. In such a crisis sloth would ill beco man whose life was in danger. To fall a tame passive victim were to die an ignominious death. had but to exert his most strenuous efforts, and men, touched with compassion, would espouse cause. The bold and turbulent would be sure to him. Nothing should be left untried. It was necessary to defeat sixty men (for that was the ber employed in this bloody tragedy). Before could receive intelligence, and despatch another of ruffians there would be time to concert bold vigorous measures. The flames of war migh kindled all over Asia, and, by this resolute duct, he might save his life. At the worst, by d bravely, his case would not be more desperate. rage might suffer, but it could not suffer more cowardice.

LIX. This spirited advice had no effect on Pla Banished from his country, without arms, or means of defence, he saw no gleam of hope, and therefore unwilling to be the dupe of visio schemes. Perhaps his affection for his wife children softened and disarmed his mind. The peror, if not exasperated by resistance, he imag would act with lenity towards his unhappy fa According to some historians, the advice sent by tistius was of a different tendency, importing there was no danger to alarm him. We are fa told that, by the exhortations of two philosopher name Cœranus,[1] a Greek by birth, and Musoni Tuscan origin, he had been taught that, though

1 *This philosopher is praised by Pliny as an author o tinguished merit.* Musonius has been also much comme *for his moral* doctrine.

ies of toil and danger and calamity, to wait with
nce till the stroke of death delivered him from
ne of misery would be heroic fortitude. Thus
ı is certain: he was surprised by the assassins
e middle of the day, disarmed and naked, attend-
o the refreshment and exercise of his body.
that condition a centurion despatched him, while
gon, one of the eunuchs, stood a spectator of the
c scene. This wretch was sent by Nero to super-
ıd the ruffians, as the minister of a despotic
ıe, placed over the guards and tools of iniquity to
his master's orders strictly executed. The head
ıe deceased was carried to Rome. At the sight
ıe dismal object the emperor cried out (I give his
words), 'Nero, now you may safely marry Pop-

What obstacle remains to defer a match long
ıded, and often deferred on account of this very
ıtus, and men of his description? Octavia may
ivorced without delay: her conduct, it is true,
been blameless, but the imperial name of her
ır,[1] and the esteem of the people, have made her
ıy eyes an object of terror and detestation.' Hav-
thus fortified his mind, he despatched a letter to
senate, written in guarded terms, without so much
lancing at the murder of Sylla and Plautus. He
tioned them both, charging them with seditious
hinations, by which he himself was kept in a con-
t alarm, lest some dreadful convulsion should by
r means shake the empire to its foundation. The
ers decreed public vows and supplications to the
s. Sylla and Plautus, though no longer in being,
e expelled the senate; and with this mockery, to
ry good mind more grievous than the worst op-
ssion, the people were amused and insulted.

1 *Her father, the* emperor Claudius.

LX. Nero finding, by the slavish tenor of
cree, that the fathers were willing to transf
vices into virtues, resolved to balance no long
repudiated Octavia, alleging her sterility for
son, and immediately married Poppæa. This
some time the concubine of the emperor, and
wife, continued to govern him with unbounde
Not content with her new dignity, she sub
domestic servant of Octavia to charge his
with a dishonorable intrigue with one of her
For this purpose they chose for the pretend
terer a man of the name of Eucerus, a native
andria, remarkable for his skill on the flut
female servants were put to the torture. S
them, overcome by pain and agony, confesse
ever was demanded of them; but the great
persevered, with constancy, to vindicate the
their mistress. Tigellinus stood near at hand,
them with questions. One of them had the
answer, 'The person of Octavia is freer fr
lution than your mouth.' Sentence was pro
against Octavia. With no more ceremony th
is usual among citizens of ordinary rank she
missed from the palace. The house of Burrh
the estates of Plautus, two fatal presents!
lotted for her separate use. She was soon
nished to Campania, under a military guard
murs of discontent were heard in every qu
Rome. The common people spoke out with
serve. To rules of caution and political wisd
rough manners made them strangers, and th
ness of their condition left them nothing to fea
clamors were so loud and violent, that Ne
orders to recall Octavia, but without affecti
without remorse.

LXI. The populace, transported with joy by this ent, pressed in crowds to the capitol, to offer up ir thanks to the gods. The statues of Poppæa re dashed to the ground, while those of Octavia, rned with wreaths of flowers, were carried in tri- ph on men's shoulders, and placed in the forum in the temples. The multitude went in a tu- ltuous body to greet the emperor; they surrounded palace; they desired him to come forth and re- ve their congratulations. A band of soldiers rushed th sword in hand, and obliged the crowd to dis- se. Whatever was pulled down during the riot s restored to its place, and the statues of Poppæa re once more erected. But her malice to Octavia s not to be appeased. To inveterate hatred she ded her dread of a popular insurrection, in conse- nce of which, Nero might be compelled to re- nce his passion for her person.

he threw herself at his feet: 'I am not now,' she , 'in a situation to contend for our nuptial union, gh dearer to me than life itself. But my life is in er. The slaves and followers of Octavia, calling own clamor the voice of the people, have com- d, in a time of profound peace, public outrages short of open rebellion. They are in arms t their sovereign. They want nothing but a , and in civil commotions that want is soon ed. What has Octavia now to do, but to leave treat in Campania, and show herself to the peo- Rome? She, who in her absence can raise a so fierce and violent, will soon discover the of her power. But what is my crime? What committed? Whom have I offended? The nay see me the mother of legitimate heirs to *e of Cæsar;* but perhaps they would fain

reserve the imperial dignity for the issue of an Egy tian minstrel.[1] Submit to Octavia, since your intere will have it so: recall her to your embrace, but do voluntarily, that the rabble may not give the law their sovereign. You must either adopt that measu or, by just vengeance on the guilty, provide for yo own safety and the public peace. The first alarm w easily quelled; a second insurrection may prove fat Should the mob have reason to despair of seeing O tavia the partner of Nero's bed, they may in the wisdom find for her another husband.'

LXII. This artful speech, tending at once to i flame the prince with resentment and alarm his fea had its effect. Nero heard the whole with mixed em tions of rage and terror. That Octavia was guil with one of her slaves, was a device of which m could be no longer made the dupes. The firmness her servants on the rack removed even the shadow suspicion. A new stratagem was now to be tried. man was to be found who would dare to confess t guilt; and if the same person could, with some col of probability, be charged with a conspiracy again the state, the plot would lie the deeper. For this da design no one so fit as Anicetus,[2] the commander the fleet at Misenum, and the murderer of the princ mother. This officer, for some time after that atr cious deed, enjoyed the smiles of the emperor; b soon experienced the common fate of all pernicio miscreants: he was favored at first and detest afterwards. It is the nature of great men, when the turn is served, to consider their tools as a living r

1 This was Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, mentioned i § 60.

2 *For Anicetus*, the murderer of Agrippina, see this boo § 7.

oach, and standing witnesses against themselves. Nero mmoned Anicetus to his presence: he thanked him : services already performed. 'By you,' he said, was delivered from the snares of an ambitious mo- er. A deed of greater moment still remains. Set : free from the furious spirit of an imperious wife.) effect this you need not so much as raise your nd. Neither sword nor dagger will be wanted. nfess yourself guilty of adultery with Octavia; I k no more.' He concluded with a promise of ample wards, to be managed indeed with secrecy, but thout bound or measure, and in the end a safe treat in some delightful country. 'And now,' he id, 'accept the offers which I have made, or certain ath awaits you.'

Anicetus undertook the business. Practised in guilt, d by the success of his former crimes inspired with urage, he went even beyond his commission. In the esence of certain chosen persons whom Nero sum- oned to a secret council, he told his story with cir- mstances that showed he had no need of a prompter. e was banished to the island of Sardinia. At that ace he continued to live in affluence, and died at st in the course of nature.

LXIII. Nero issued a proclamation, declaring the ilt of Octavia, and in express terms averring, that obtain the command of the fleet at Misenum, she d prostituted her person to Anicetus. He added at, by the use of medicines to procure abortion, she d thrown a veil over her adulterous commerce. In is public declaration, the objection on account of erility, so lately urged, was no more remembered. he facts, however, were said to be clearly proved. he was banished to the isle of Pandataria. The *ublic mind was never so* deeply touched with com-

passion. The banishment of Agrippina, by order of Tiberius, was remembered by many; and that of Julia,[1] in the reign of Claudius, was still more fresh in the memory of all: but those two unfortunate exiles had attained the vigor of their days, and were, by consequence, better enabled to endure the stroke of adversity. They had known scenes of happiness, and, in the recollection of better times, could lose, or at least assuage, the sense of present evils. To Octavia the celebration of her nuptials was little different from a funeral ceremony. She was led to a house where she could discover nothing but memorials of affliction; her father carried off by poison,[2] and her brother in a short time afterwards destroyed by the same detestable machination. She saw herself superseded by the allurements of a female slave; she saw the affections of her husband alienated from herself; and a marriage, by which her ruin was completed, openly celebrated with Poppæa. Above all, she underwent a cruel accusation, to an ingenuous mind worse than death. At the time when the storm burst on her she was only in the twentieth year of her age, and even then, in the bloom of life, delivered to the custody of centurions and soldiers. Her present afflictions, she plainly saw, were a prelude to her impending fate. She was cut off from all the comforts of life; but the tranquillity of the grave was still denied to her.

LXIV. In a few days afterwards she received a mandate, commanding her to end her days. Alarmed and terrified, she descended to supplications; she admitted herself to be a widow; she claimed no higher

1 Julia, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was *banished* by the emperor Claudius, A. U. C. 794.

2 *The emperor* Claudius, her father, and her brother Britannicus, were both poisoned. See Annals, xii. 67. xiii. 16.

e than that of the emperor's sister;[1] she invoked
: race of Germanicus, the common ancestors of
ro and herself; and, in the anguish of her heart,
retted even Agrippina, 'during whose life,' she
d, 'her marriage would have been a state of
etchedness, but would not have brought her to an
timely end.' Amidst these effusions of sorrow the
ffians seized her, and, having bound her limbs,
ened her veins. Her blood was chilled with fear,
d did not issue at the wound. The assassins carried
r to a bath of intense heat, where she was suffocated
the vapor. To complete the horror of this barba-
us tragedy, her head was cut off and sent to Rome,
glut the eyes of Poppæa.

Such were the transactions for which the fathers
creed oblations to the gods. I mention the fact in
is place, that the reader of this, or any other history
those disastrous times, may know, once for all, that
often as banishment or a bloody execution was
dered, the senate never failed to thank the gods for
eir bounty. Those solemn acts, which, in the earlier
riods of Rome, were the pious gratitude of the peo-
e for increasing happiness, were now profanely and
ominably converted to memorials of horror and pub-
: misery. This may be received as a general truth;
d yet whenever a decree occurs, remarkable either
r a new strain of adulation, or the base servility of
e times, it is my intention not to pass it by in si-
nce.

LXV. In the course of this year Nero is said to
ve destroyed by poison the most considerable of his
edmen. Among these Doryphorus had opposed the
arriage with Poppæa, and for that crime lost his life.

1 Nero was adopted by Claudius, her father, and consequently was brother to Octavia.

Pallas was in possession of exorbitant wealth; but, living to a great age, he delayed the eager avarice of the emperor. He was murdered for his riches.[1] Romanus, another of the freedmen, endeavored, by clandestine calumny, to accomplish the ruin of Seneca. He charged the philosopher with being an accomplice in the machinations of Caius Piso; but the blow, warded off by Seneca, recoiled on the accuser. By this incident Piso was alarmed for his own safety.[2] A dark conspiracy followed, big with danger to Nero, but abortive in the end.

BOOK XV.

SECT. I. DURING these transactions Vologeses, king of the Parthians, began to raise new commotions in the east. The success of Corbulo alarmed his jealousy: he saw, with wounded pride, the defeat of his brother Tiridates; and in his room Tigranes, an alien prince,[3] seated on the throne of Armenia. The

1 Doryphorus, according to Dio, was private secretary to Nero. Pallas, the freedman of Claudius, has been often mentioned. He was dismissed from all his employments by Nero. See Annals, xiii. 15. Brotier says that his monument was found near Rome in the year 1720.

2 For more of Piso, see Annals, xv. 48.

3 *Tigranes*, descended from the nobility of Cappadocia, *was sent by* Nero to ascend the throne of Armenia. Annals *xiv. 26.*

ıonor of the Arsacides was tarnished by these events; ınd he was determined to restore its former lustre. 3ut the struggle was to be with a great and powerful ımpire. Treaties of alliance, long in force and long ·espected by the two nations, held him in suspense. By nature anxious and irresolute, he formed no settled ɔlan. He was at variance with the Hyrcanians; and, ıfter a long and obstinate conflict, that brave and powerful nation still made head against him. While he continued wavering fresh intelligence fired him with indignation. Tigranes marched his army into the territory of the Adiabenians, a people bordering on Armenia, and laid waste their country. The enterprise did not resemble the sudden incursion of barbarians roving in quest of prey; a regular war seemed to be declared in form. The chiefs of the Adiabenians saw, with resentment, their lands made a scene of desolation, not by a Roman army, but by a foreigner; a despicable hostage, who for years had lived at Rome undistinguished from the common slaves.

Monobazus, the sovereign of the province, inflamed the discontents of the people; and at the same time roused the pride of Vologeses by frequent messages, importing that he knew not which way to turn, nor from what quarter to expect relief. Armenia, he said, was lost, and the neighboring states, if not reinforced by the Parthians, must be all involved in the same calamity; perhaps with the consent of the people, as Rome, it was well known, made a distinction between the nations that fell by conquest and those that submitted at discretion. Tiridates, by his behavior, added force to these complaints. Driven from his throne, he appeared with all the silent dignity of distress; or, if he spoke occasionally, his words were few, short, and sententious. '*Mighty* kingdoms,' he said, 'are not

supported by inactivity. Men and arms, and warlike preparations, are necessary. The conqueror has always justice on his side. In a private station, to defend their property is the virtue of individuals; but to invade the possessions of others is the prerogative and the glory of kings.'

II. Roused by these incentives, Vologeses summoned a council; and seating Tiridates next himself, spoke in substance as follows: 'You see before you a prince descended from the same father with myself. Acknowleging the right of primogeniture, he ceded to me the diadem of Parthia: in return I placed him on the throne of Armenia, the third kingdom among the eastern nations. Media, in fact, is the second; and Pacorus, at that time, was in possession. By this arrangement I provided for my family; and, by the measure, extinguished for ever those unnatural jealousies which formerly envenomed brothers against brothers. This system, it seems, has given umbrage to the Romans; they declare against it; and though they never broke with Parthia without paying dearly for their temerity, they now are willing to provoke a war, and rush on their own destruction. Thus much I am willing to declare; the possessions which have descended to me from my ancestors shall never be dismembered; but I had rather maintain them by the justice of my cause than by the decision of the sword. I avow the principle; and if, in consequence of it, I have been too much inclined to pacific measures, the vigor of my future conduct shall make atonement. The national honor, in the mean time, has suffered no diminution. Your glory is unimpaired, and I have added to it the virtues of moderation; virtues which *the gods* approve, and which no sovereign, however *great and florishing*, ought to despise.'

Having thus delivered his sentiments, he placed the
al diadem on the head of Tiridates, and at the same
ie gave to Moneses, an officer of distinguished rank,
command of the cavalry, which by established
ge is always appointed to attend the person of the
narch. He added auxiliaries sent by the Adiabe-
ns, and with that force ordered him to march
inst Tigranes, in order to exterminate the usurper
m the throne of Armenia. In the mean time, he
posed to compromise the war with the Hyrcanians,
l fall with the whole weight of his kingdom on the
man provinces.

III. Corbulo was no sooner apprised of these trans-
ions than he despatched, to support Tigranes, two
ions, under the command of Verulanus Severus and
ttius Bolanus. In their private instructions those
cers had it in command to proceed with caution,
d act on the defensive, without pushing on their
erations with too much vigor. A decisive campaign
s not Corbulo's plan. He wished to protract the
r; and, in the mean time, stated in his letters to
emperor the necessity of appointing a commander,
h a special commission to protect Armenia, as he
esaw a storm gathering in the province of Syria.
Vologeses made an irruption in that quarter a pow-
ul army would be wanted to repel the invader.
ith the rest of his legions he formed a chain of posts
ng the banks of the Euphrates; and, having made
owerful levy of provincial forces, he secured all the
ses against the inroads of the enemy. In order to
ke sure of water in a country not well supplied by
ture, he erected strong castles near the springs and
ntains; and, where the stations were inconvenient,
choked up a number of rivulets with heaps of sand,

with intent to conceal their source from the P army.

IV. While Corbulo was thus concerting m for the defence of Syria, Moneses advanced b marches, and with all his forces entered A He hoped to outstrip the fame that flies be enterprising general, and to fall on Tigranes prise. That prince, aware of the design, had himself into the city of Tigranocerta, a pla rounded by high walls,[1] and defended by a nu garrison. The river Nicephorius, with a curr ficiently broad, washes a considerable part of th A deep trench inclosed the rest. There was a tent number of soldiers to man the works, and sions had been laid in with due precaution. S the foraging parties, having rashly ventured t were surrounded by the enemy. This check, hc instead of disheartening the garrison, served inspire them with a spirit of revenge. The ope of a siege are ill suited to the genius of the Pa whose courage always fails in a close engageme few arrows thrown at random made no impres men sheltered by their fortifications. The be could only amuse themselves with a feeble atta attempt was made by the Adiabenians to ca works by assault. They advanced their scaling- and other military engines, but were soon re and, the garrison sallying out, the whole cor cut to pieces.

V. Corbulo was not of a temper to be elat success. He chose to act with moderation in rity; and accordingly despatched an embassy

1 The walls were fifty cubits high, as we are told *pian, in his History* of the Mithridatic War.

postulate with Vologeses on the violence with which he had invaded a Roman province, and not only besieged the cohorts of the empire, but also a king in alliance with Rome. If the Parthian prince did not raise the siege, he threatened to advance with the strength of his army, and encamp in the heart of the country. Casperius, a centurion, was charged with his commission. He met the king in the city of Nisibis, distant about seven-and-thirty miles from Tigranocerta, and there delivered his orders in a tone of firmness. To avoid a war with Rome had been for some time the fixed resolution of Vologeses, and the success of the present enterprise gave him no reason to alter his sentiments.

The siege promised no kind of advantage. Tigranes possessed a stronghold, well garrisoned, and provided with ample supplies: the forces that attempted to storm the works met with a total overthrow: the Roman legions were in possession of Armenia, and others were in readiness, not only to cover the province of Syria, but to push the war into the Parthian territories: his cavalry suffered for want of forage; and all vegetation being destroyed by a swarm of locusts, neither grass nor forage could be found. Determined by these considerations, yet disguising his fear, Vologeses, with the specious appearance of a pacific disposition, returned for answer to Casperius, that he should send ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to solicit the cession of Armenia, and the re-establishment of peace between the two nations. Meanwhile, he sent dispatches to Moneses, with orders to abandon the siege of Tigranocerta; and, without farther delay, returned to his capital.

VI. These events, ascribed by the general voice to *the conduct of the general*, and the terror impressed

on the mind of Vologeses, were extolled in terms
the highest commendation. And yet malignity wa
work. Some would have it, 'that there was at
bottom a secret compact to make an end of the w
According to their sinister interpretation, 'it was
pulated that Vologeses should return to his own do
nions, and that Armenia should be evacuated by
granes. With what other view were the Roman
diers withdrawn from Tigranocerta? Why give
by an ill-judged peace, what had been so well
fended in time of war? Could the army find, at
extremity of Cappadocia, in huts suddenly thrown
better winter-quarters than in the capital of a ki
dom which had been preserved by force of arm
Peace is held forth; but it is in fact no more t
a truce, a suspension of arms, that Vologeses n
have to contend with another general, and that C
bulo should not be obliged to hazard the great reno
which he had acquired during a service of so m
years.'

The fact was, Corbulo, as we have stated, requi
a new commander for the special purpose of defend
Armenia, and the nomination of Cæsennius Pætus
already announced. That officer arrived in a sh
time. A division of the forces was allotted to e
commander. The fourth and twelfth legions, with
fifth, lately arrived from Mœsia, and a body of au
liaries from Pontus, from Galatia and Cappado
were put under the command of Pætus. The th
the sixth, and tenth legions, with the forces of Sy
were assigned to Corbulo. Both commanders wer
act in concert, or to push the war in different quart
as the occasion might require. But the spirit of C
bulo could not brook a rival; and Pætus, though
be second in command under such a general wo

e been his highest glory, began to aspire above self. He despised the fame acquired by Corbulo, laring all his best exploits to be no better than sted victories, without bloodshed and without booty; 'e pretended sieges, in which not a single place was ied by assault. For himself, he was resolved to y on the war for more substantial purposes. By osing tributes and taxes on the vanquished he nt to reduce them to subjection; and, for the sha- r of an oriental king, he would establish the rights onquest, and the authority of the Roman name.

II. In this juncture, the ambassadors who had n sent by Vologeses to treat with Nero returned k to their own country. Their negotiation was uccessful, and the Parthians declared war. Pætus braced the opportunity to signalise his valor. He ered Armenia at the head of two legions; the rth commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus, and twelfth by Calavius Sabinus. His first approach s attended with unpropitious omens. In passing r a bridge which lay across the Euphrates the horse t carried the consular ornaments, taking fright hout any apparent cause, broke from the ranks, l fled at full speed. A victim, likewise, intended sacrifice, standing near the unfinished fortifications the winter camp, escaped out of the intrenchments. r was this all: the javelins in the hands of the liers emitted sudden flashes of fire; and this pro- y was the more alarming as the Parthians bran- hed the same weapon.

III. Portents and prodigies had no effect on Pæ- . Without waiting to fortify his winter encamp- nt, and without providing a sufficient store of grain, marched his army over Mount Taurus; determined, he *gave out, to recover* Tigranocerta, and lay waste

the country through which Corbulo had passed with vain parade. In his progress some forts and castles were stormed; and it is certain that his share of glory and of booty would have been considerable, if to enjoy the former with moderation, and to secure the latter, had been his talent. He overran, by rapid marches, vast tracts of country, where no conquest could be maintained. His provisions, in the mean time, went to decay; and, the winter season approaching fast, he was obliged to return with his army. His dispatches to Nero were in a style as grand as if he had ended the war; high-sounding, pompous, full of vainglory, but without any solid advantage.

IX. In the mean time Corbulo never neglected the banks of the Euphrates. To his former chain of posts he added new stations; and lest the enemy, who showed themselves in detached parties on the opposite plains, should be able to obstruct the building of a bridge over the river, he ordered a number of vessels of large size to be braced together with great beams, and on that foundation raised a superstructure of towers armed with slings and warlike engines. From this floating battery he annoyed the enemy with a discharge of stones and javelins, thrown to such a length that the Parthians could not retaliate with their darts. Under this shelter the bridge was finished. The allied cohorts passed over to the opposite hills. The legions followed and pitched their camp. The whole of these operations was executed with such rapidity, and so formidable a display of strength, that the Parthians abandoned their enterprise, and, without attempting any thing against the Syrians, drew off their forces to the invasion of Armenia.

X. Pætus had fixed his head-quarters in that country, *little* aware of the storm ready to burst on him,

ıd so much off his guard that he suffered the fifth gion to remain in Pontus, at a considerable distance, hile he still weakened his numbers by granting leave ' absence to his soldiers without reserve. In this tuation he received intelligence of the approach of ologeses with a powerful army. He called the twelfth gion to his assistance; and, by the necessity of that inforcement, betrayed to the enemy the feeble conition of his army. He was, notwithstanding, sufficiently strong to maintain his post, and baffle all the fforts of the Parthians, had it been in the genius of he man to pursue with firmness either his own idea r the counsel of others. But, in pressing exigences, e no sooner embraced the plan recommended by offiers of known experience than his little spirit was tung with jealousy; and, lest he should be thought to tand in need of advice, he was sure to adopt very different measures, always changing for the worse.

On the first approach of the Parthians he sallied out f his intrenchments, determined to hazard a battle. Ditches and ramparts, he said, were not given to him n commission, nor had he any need of that defence: he soldier and the sword were all he wanted. In this vaporing strain he led his legions to the field; but a enturion and a few soldiers, who had been sent to econnoitre the enemy, being cut off, his courage ailed, and he sounded a retreat. He was no sooner n his camp than, perceiving that Vologeses had not ressed on his rear, he once more grew bold; and, in fit of valor, ordered three thousand of his best inantry to take post on the next eminence of Mount Taurus, to dispute the pass with the Parthian king. The Pannonians, who formed the strength of his cavalry, were drawn up on the open plain. He placed his *wife and her infant son* in a castle called Arsamo-

sata,[1] and left a cohort to defend the place. manner he contrived to divide an army which with united force, would have been able to re attack of a wild and desultory enemy. When by Vologeses, we are told, it was with difficu he could submit to acquaint Corbulo with his sit That officer did not hurry to his assistance. T ment the glory of delivering him he was willin the danger increase. In the mean time he orc detachment of a thousand men, drafted from his three legions, and a body of eight hundred with an equal number from the cohorts, to hold selves in readiness for a sudden enterprise.

XI. Vologeses knew from his scouts that h sage over Mount Taurus was obstructed by the infantry, and that the plain was occupied by th nonian horse; but the news did not deter hi pursuing his march. He fell with impetuous the cavalry, who fled with precipitation. The ary soldiers, in like manner, abandoned thei A tower, commanded by Tarquitius Crescus, a rion, was the only place that held out. That made several sallies with success, routing such enemy as dared to approach the walls, and p the runaways with great slaughter; till, by a v combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, the were set on fire. The gallant centurion peri the flames. Some of the garrison escaped unh made the best of their way to distant wilds wounded returned to the camp, and there wonders; magnifying, beyond all bounds, th of the Parthian king, the number of his troo their ferocity in battle. A panic pervaded the

1 *Arsamosata*, a city of Armenia, near the Euphra *Simsat.*

who feared for themselves swallowed all that said with easy credulity. Pætus felt the pressure is misfortunes. He seemed to resign the com- l, unable to struggle with adversity. He sent 1 to Corbulo, with earnest prayers intreating him ıve the Roman eagles, with the standards of an rtunate army, and the army itself from impending . In the mean time he and his men would hold to the last, determined to live or die in the ser- of their country.

II. Corbulo, as usual, firm and collected in the ent of danger, prepared for the expedition. Hav- left a sufficient force to guard his posts on the .s of the Euphrates, he moved forwards towards enia, taking the shortest route through Coma- , and next through Cappadocia, both fertile coun- , and capable of furnishing supplies for his army. des the usual train attending on a march, he took him a number of camels, loaded with grain, to er the double purpose of preventing the want of isions, and of striking the enemy with the terror n unusual appearance. Pactius, a centurion of ipal rank,[1] was the first from the vanquished army encountered Corbulo on his march. The common came up soon after, all endeavoring by various ses to palliate their disgrace. The general or- l them to join their colors, and try to gain their on from Pætus. The merciful disposition of that r might incline him to forgive; but, for himself, vored none but such as conquered by their valor. then addressed his own legions, visiting their s, and inspiring all with zeal and ardor. He

[e is called in the original primi pili centurio; that is, *enturion. He has been mentioned*, xiii. 36, by the name *tius Orphitus.*

called to mind their past exploits, and opened to the view a new field of glory. 'It is not,' he said, 'th towns and villages of Armenia that now demand o swords; a Roman camp invokes our aid, and tw legions look to us for relief. Their delivery from th barbarians will be the reward of victory. If to a pr vate soldier the civic crown,[1] delivered by the hand his general, is the brightest recompense for the life a citizen saved, how much greater will be the glory the present enterprise, in which the number of th distressed is equal to those who bring relief; and, l consequence, every soldier in this army may save h man!' By this discourse one general spirit was di fused through the ranks. The men had private m tives to inflame their courage; they felt for their br thers; they wished to succor their relations; an without halting night or day, pursued their mar with alacrity and vigor.

XIII. Meanwhile Vologeses pressed on the sieg He assaulted the intrenchments: he endeavored storm a castle, where the weaker sex, the aged a infirm, were lodged for security. In these sever attacks he came to a closer engagement than usual consists with the military genius of his country. I a show of temerity he hoped to bring on a decisi action. The Romans remained close in their ten content with a safe post within their intrenchment some, in deference to the orders of their genera others, through want of spirit, tamely waiting to relieved by Corbulo. If in the mean time the enem overpowered them, they called to mind, by way consolation, the example of two Roman armies th

1 The civic crown, for saving the life of a citizen, was oft *granted by* the emperor: but the consular commanders h *the same* power at the head of their armies.

ssed under the yoke; one at Caudium,[1] and the ıer at Numantia. By those two events submission, their present distress, would be fully justified; since ither the Samnites nor the Carthaginians, those fa-ıus rivals of the Roman republic, could be compared th the extensive power of the Parthian empire: and ıreover, the boasted virtue of the ancient Romans, wever decorated by the praises of posterity, was vays pliant in misfortune, and willing to make terms th the conqueror. By this unwarlike spirit of his my Pætus was driven to despair. He wrote to Vo-geses. His letter was more in the style of reproach an the language of a suppliant. 'Hostilities,' he id, 'were commenced by the Parthians to wrest the ngdom of Armenia from the Romans; a kingdom vays in the power of the emperor, or governed by ngs invested by him with the regal diadem. Peace equally the interest of both nations. From the pre-nt juncture no conclusion can be drawn, since the ıole weight of Parthia is employed against two le-ons, and Rome has it still in her power to arm in her use the remaining nations of the world.'

XIV. Vologeses, without entering into the question right, returned for answer, 'that he must wait for ; two brothers, Pacorus and Tiridates: when they rived a convention might be held, and there the ghts of Armenia would be adjusted. The gods would en decide the fate of the Roman legions.' Pætus nt another embassy, requesting an interview. The ng sent Vasaces, his general of the cavalry, to act in

1 The Roman army defeated by the Samnites passed der the yoke at the Caudinæ Furcæ, now Forchie, A. U. C. 3. A more terrible defeat happened afterwards at Numan-, A. U. C. *617. The place is* now called Numantia, and the *ins of antiquity are still* to be seen.

the royal name. At that meeting Pætus cited a ber of ancient precedents. He talked of Luci Pompey, and the emperors of Rome, who had out the sceptre of Armenia. Vasaces coolly answ that some shadow of right must be allowed to been claimed by the Romans; but the substi power was always vested in the Parthian kings. much debate it was agreed, that on the next day nobazus, the Adiabenian, should attend as a witn the compact. In his presence it was agreed tha siege being raised, the Roman legions should f with evacuate Armenia; that the strongholds, their stores and magazines, should be delivered the Parthians: and, these conditions duly perfor Vologeses was to be at liberty by his ambassadc negotiate with Nero.

XV. These preliminaries being settled, Pætu dered a bridge to be built over the Arsanias, a that flowed by the side of his camp. For this his pretext was, that it would be convenient t army when the march began: but the fact was Parthians, knowing the utility of a bridge, had it an article of the treaty; intending, at the same that it should remain a monument of their vic The Roman troops, instead of using the bridge, off another way. A report[1] was spread abroad the legions had passed under the yoke, and, in tion to that disgrace, suffered all the humiliating cumstances which usually attend the overthrow c army. The Armenians gave some color to the re Before the Romans marched out they entered th trenchments, and formed a line on each side, in c to fix on the slaves and beasts of burden that form

1 *Suetonius* says expressly that the legions passed u *the yoke*; in Neron. § 39.

longed to themselves. Not content with seizing hat they called their own property, they laid violent nds on the apparel of the soldiers, who yielded, ith fear and trembling, to avoid a new cause of arrel.

Vologeses, as a monument of his victory, raised a le of dead bodies, and arms taken from the enemy; it declined to be a spectator of the legions in their ght. He first indulged his pride, and then sought e fame of moderation. He waded across the Arsa- as, mounted on an elephant, while his train and his ar relations followed him on horseback. The reason as, a report prevailed that, by the fraudulent contri- ance of the builders, the whole fabric of the bridge ould give way at once; but by those who made the periment it was found to be a firm and solid struc- re.

XVI. The besieged, it is now clear, were provided ith grain in such abundance, that on their departure ey burned their magazines; and, on the other hand, y the account given by Corbulo, it appears that the 'arthians, having consumed their whole stock of pro- isions, were on the point of raising the siege at the ery time when he was within three days' march of e place. On the same authority it may be averred s a fact, that Pætus, under the sanction of a solemn ath, sworn under the eagles, and in the presence of itnesses sent by Vologeses, took on him to engage hat no Roman should set his foot within the territo- ies of Armenia till Nero's pleasure touching the terms f the treaty should arrive from Rome. These asser- ions, it may be said, were suggested by malignity, to ggravate the infamy of an unwarlike officer; but it is ow known, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that Pætus *made a forced march* of no less than forty miles

in one day; leaving behind him the sick and wounded and flying with as much disorder and confusion as i he had been routed in the field of battle. Corbul met the fugitives on the banks of the Euphrates. H received them without parade, and without that dis play of military pomp which might seem a triumpl over the fate of the vanquished. His men beheld wit regret the disgrace of their fellow-soldiers, and tear gushed from every eye. The usual forms of militar salutation were suppressed by the general condolence The pride of courage and the sense of glory, which, i the day of prosperity, are natural passions, were no converted into grief and sympathy. The lower th condition of the soldier the more sincere his sorrow In that class of men the honest emotions of the hear appeared without disguise.

XVII. The conference between the two commanden was short and without ceremony. Corbulo complaine that all his labors were rendered abortive, whereas th war might have been terminated by the total overthrow of the Parthians. Pætus observed in reply, that al things were still in the same condition. He propose to turn the eagles against the enemy; and, since Volo geses had withdrawn his forces, by their joint forc Armenia would be easily reduced. Corbulo rejecte the offer. He had no such orders from the emperor It was the danger in which the legions were involve that drew him out of his province, and since it wa uncertain where the Parthians would make their nex attempt, he was determined to return into Syria wit his army; and if his infantry, harassed out with fa tiguing marches, could keep pace with the Parthia cavalry, who with their usual velocity could travers the open plains, he should hold himself indebted to hi own good fortune for so signal an event. Pætus to

his winter-quarters in Cappadocia. Vologeses sent dispatches to Corbulo, requiring that the strongholds and fortresses on the banks of the Euphrates should be rased to the ground, and the river left, as heretofore, the common boundary of the two empires. Corbulo had no objection, provided both parties withdrew their garrisons, and left Armenia a free and independent country. The Parthian monarch, after some hesitation, acceded to the terms. The castles erected by Corbulo's order on the banks of the Euphrates were all demolished, and the Armenians were left to their natural liberty.

XVIII. Meanwhile trophies of victory were erected at Rome, and triumphal arches on the mount of the capitol. This was ordered by the senate while the war was still depending; nor was the work discontinued when the event was known. The public eye was amused at the expense of truth. To add to the imposition, and to appear free from all solicitude about foreign affairs, Nero ordered all the damaged grain that lay in the public stores to be thrown into the Tiber. By this act of ostentation an idea of great abundance was to be impressed on the minds of the people. Nor did he suffer the price of corn to be raised, though near two hundred vessels loaded with grain were lost in the harbor by the violence of a storm; and a hundred more, working their way up the Tiber, were destroyed by the accident of fire. At the same time Nero committed the care of the public imposts to three men of consular rank; namely, Lucius Piso, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paullinus. In making this arrangement he animadverted with severity on the conduct of former emperors, whose extravagance made heavy anticipations of the revenue; *whereas he himself,* by his frugality, paid annually

into the treasury, for the exigences of the state, six millions of sesterces.

XIX. A custom, highly unjust and prejudicial to the rights of others, was at this time in general vogue. When the time drew near for the election of magistrates, or the allotment of provinces, it was the practice of men who had no issue[1] to become fathers by adoption. Having served their turn in a contest with real parents for the pretorship, and the administration of provinces, they emancipated their pretended sons, and resumed their former state. Against this abuse warm remonstrances were made to the senate. The complainants urged the rights of nature, the care and expense of rearing children, while the compensation by law established[2] was wrested from them by fraud, by artifice, and the facility of feigned adoptions. It was surely a sufficient advantage to such as had no children that they could live free from all charge and solicitude, without leaving the road to favor, to preferment, and honors open to them, in common with men who are of service to the community. Real parents are taught by the laws to expect the reward due to useful members of the community; but the laws are eluded, and the promised reward is snatched away, if such as have raised no heirs to themselves are allowed to become parents without paternal affection, and childless again without regret. The deception of a moment serves to counterbalance whole years of ex-

1 It was a settled rule of law, that in all elections for the magistracy, or the government of provinces, the preference should be given to the candidate who had the greatest number of children. See Annals, ii. 51.

2 By the law Papia Poppæa, the estates of those who did not intitle themselves to the privileges annexed to the *paternal state* were to devolve to the public, as the common *parent of all*; Annals, iii. 28.

ctation, and the true father sees all his hopes de-ated. The senate passed a decree, by which it was ovided, that in all cases, either of election to the agistracy or succession by testament, no regard ould be paid to adoptions merely colorable.

XX. Claudius Timarchus, a native of Crete, was ted to answer a prosecution commenced against him. esides the allegations usually laid to the charge of ich as rise in the provinces to overgrown wealth, and ecome the oppressors of their inferior neighbors, an xpression that fell from him excited the indignation f the senate. This man, it seems, had made it his oast that addresses of public thanks to the proconsu-ar governors of Crete depended intirely on his weight nd influence. Pætus Thrasea seized this opportunity o convert the incident to the public good. He gave is opinion that the offender ought to be banished from he isle of Crete, and proceeded as follows: 'Experi-nce has taught us, conscript fathers, that the wisest aws and the best examples of virtue owe their origin o the actual commission of crimes and misdemeanors. Men of integrity make it their study on such occasions o deduce good from evil. To the corrupt practices f public orators we are indebted for the Cincian law,[1] nd for the Julian to the intrigues and open bribery of he candidates for public honors. The Calpurnian egulations[2] were produced by the avarice and rapacity

1 The Cincian law against venal advocates has been men-ioned, Annals, xi. 5. Laws were also established by Au-ustus, called leges Juliæ, to prevent bribery at elections; uet. in Aug. § 34 and 40.

2 The Calpurnian law was introduced by Lucius Calpur-ius Piso, *de pecuniis repetundis*, to compel restitution from uch as were convicted of extortion, A. U. C. 605, in the be-*inning of the third Punic* war. It was followed from time *time by new decrees;* but all proved ineffectual.

of the magistrates. Guilt must precede the pu
ment, and reformation grows out of abuse. We
now before us the pride and insolence of petty ty
in the provinces. To check the mischief, let us c
to a resolution, consistent with good faith, and wc
of the Roman name. Protection is due to our al
but let us remember that, to adorn our names, w
not to depend on the voice of foreign nations.
fellow-citizens are the best judges of our conduct.

XXI. 'The old republic was not content with s
ing pretors and consuls to administer the provi
Men who sustained no public character were
commissioned to visit the remotest colonies, in o
to report the condition of each, and the temper
which the people submitted to the authority of gov
ment. By the judgment of individuals whole na
were kept in awe. What is our practice now?
pay court to the colonies; we flatter the provi
and, by the influence of some powerful leader, w
ceive public thanks for our administration. In
manner, accusations are framed at the will and ple
of some overgrown provincial. Let the right of
plaining still remain; and, by exercising that
let the provinces show their importance; but let
not, by false encomiums, impose on our judg
The praise that springs from cabal and faction is
pernicious than even malice or cruelty. Let bc
suppressed. More mischief is done by the gov
who wishes to oblige than by him who shows hi
not afraid of offending. It is the misfortune of c
virtues to provoke ill-will. In that class m
reckoned inflexible severity, and the firmnes
never yields to intrigue, or the arts of designing
Hence it happens that every new governor op
promising scene; but the last act seldom corre

ith the outset. In the end we see an humble candi-
te for the suffrages of the province. Remove the
il, and government, in every quarter, will be more
right, more just, more uniform. By prosecutions
arice and rapine have received a check. Abolish
custom of giving public thanks, and you suppress
pitiful ambition which, for vain applause, can stoop
mean compliances.'

XXII. This speech was received with the unani-
us assent of the fathers. The proposition, notwith-
nding, could not be formed into a decree, the con-
s refusing to make their report. The prince inter-
ed in the business, and, with his authority, a law
s passed, forbidding any person whatever to move
a provincial assembly[1] for a vote of thanks to the
consul or pretor, or to send a deputation to Rome
that purpose. During the same consulship the
masium, or place of athletic exercises, was struck
h lightning, and burnt to the ground. The statue
Nero was found in the ruins, melted down to a
peless mass. The celebrated city of Pompeii[2] in
mpania was overthrown by an earthquake, and well-
h demolished. Lælia, the vestal virgin, departed
life; and Cornelia, descended from the family of
Cossi, succeeded to the vacant office.

It was a frequent practice of the provinces to send a
utation to the senate, with an address of thanks to the
onsuls or pretors who were returned to Rome, for the
sings enjoyed by the people under their administration;
this contrivance served to advance the fame of the men
condescended to intrigue for applause, and thereby open
road to the highest honors of the state.

Seneca gives an account of this earthquake, but he places
the following year. See Quæst. Natural. quæst. vi. 1.
peii is now called Torre dell' Annunciata. It was after-
ls totally overwhelmed by the eruption of Mount Vesu-
, *A. U. C. 832.*

XXIII. During the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus Poppæa was delivered of a daughter. The exultation of Nero was beyond all mortal joy. He called the new-born infant Augusta, and gave the same title to her mother. The child was brought into the world at Antium, where Nero himself was born. The senate, before the birth, had offered vows to the gods for the safe delivery of Poppæa. They fulfilled their obligations, and voted additional honors. Days of supplication were appointed: a temple was voted to the goddess of fecundity; athletic sports were instituted on the model of the religious games practised at Antium; golden statues of the two goddesses of fortune[1] were to be erected on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus; and in the honor of the Claudian and Domitian families,[2] Circensian games were to be celebrated at Antium, in imitation of the public spectacles exhibited at Bovillæ to commemorate the Julian race. But these honors were of short duration: the infant died in less than four months, and the monuments of human vanity faded away. But new modes of flattery were soon displayed: the child was canonised for a goddess: a temple was decreed to her, with an altar, a bed of state, a priest, and religious ceremonies. Nero's grief, like his joy at the birth, was without bounds or measure. At the time when the senate went in crowds to Antium, to congratulate the prince on the delivery of Poppæa, a circumstance occurred worthy of notice. Pætus Thrasea was ordered by Nero not to appear on the occasion. The

1 The worship paid to Fortune as a goddess is well known from Horace. There were two goddesses of fortune adored in that city: one, the Happy; the other, the Equestrian.

2 *Nero*, by his father, was of the Domitian family; and, by *adoption*, of the Claudian.

front was deemed a prelude to the ruin of that emi-nt citizen. He received the mandate with his usual mness, calm and undismayed. A report prevailed on after that Nero, in conversation with Seneca, ade it his boast that he was reconciled to Thrasea, d in return the philosopher wished him joy. In nsequence of this incident the glory of those excel-nt men rose to the highest pitch; but their danger pt pace with their glory.

XXIV. In the beginning of the spring ambassadors om Vologeses arrived at Rome, with letters from the ng, their master, in substance declaring, 'that he ould not revive the question of right, so often urged d fully discussed, since the gods, the sovereign arbi-rs of nations, had delivered Armenia into the hands the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Roman me. Tigranes had been hemmed in by a close ockade; Pætus and his legions were enveloped in e like distress, and, in the moment when destruction ng over them, the whole army was suffered to de-mp. The Parthians displayed at once their superior lor and their moderation. But even in the present ncture Tiridates had no objection to a long journey Rome, in order to be there invested with the sove-ignty; but, being of the order of the Magi, the duties the sacerdotal function[1] required his personal at-ndance. He was willing however to proceed to the oman camp, and there receive the regal diadem under e eagles, and the image of the emperor, in the pre-nce of the legions.'

XXV. The style of this letter differed essentially om the account transmitted by Pætus, who repre-nted the affairs of the east in a flourishing situation.

1 For more *of the Parthian* superstition, and the scruples *Tiridates, see the Appendix* to the Annals, xvi.

To ascertain the truth, a centurion, who had travelled with the ambassadors, was interrogated concerning the state of Armenia. The Romans, he replied, have evacuated the country. Nero felt the insulting mockery of being asked to yield what the barbarians had seized by force. He summoned a council of the leading men at Rome, to determine, by their advice, which was most eligible, a difficult and laborious war, or an ignominious peace. All declared for war. The conduct of it was committed to Corbulo, who, by the experience of so many years, knew both the temper of the Roman army and the genius of the enemy. The misconduct of Paetus had brought disgrace on the Roman name; and to hazard the same calamities from the incapacity of another officer was not advisable.

The Parthian deputies received their answer, but were dismissed with handsome presents, leaving them room to infer from the mild behavior of the emperor, that Tiridates, if he made the request in person, might succeed to the extent of his wishes. The civil administration of Syria was committed to Cestius; but the whole military authority was assigned to Corbulo. The fifteenth legion, then in Pannonia under the command of Marius Celsus, was ordered to join the army. Directions were also given to the kings and tetrarchs of the east, as also to the governors and imperial procurators of the several provinces in those parts, to submit in every thing to the commander-in-chief. Corbulo was now invested with powers little short of what the Roman people committed to Pompey [1] in the war

1 Pompey was employed as a commander-in-chief in the piratic war; with a commission, giving to him supreme authority in every province to the extent of fifty miles from the *sea-coast*. By the decree of the senate on that occasion, *Velleius Paterculus* observes, almost the whole Roman world *was subjected* to the will of one man.

gainst the pirates. Pætus, in the mean time, returned o Rome, not without apprehensions of being called to severe account. Nero appeased his fears, content vith a few sallies of mirth and ridicule. His words vere: 'I make haste to pardon you, lest a state of sus- ense should injure a man of your sensibility. Since ou are so apt to take fright, delay on my part might urt your nerves, and bring on a fit of illness.'

XXVI. Corbulo expected no advantage to the ser- ice from the fourth and twelfth legions, the bravest of heir men being all cut off, and the survivors still re- maining covered with consternation. He removed them nto Syria; and, in exchange, reinforced himself with he sixth legion and the third; both in full vigor, nured to hardship, and no less distinguished by their uccess than by their valor. To these he added the fifth legion, which happened to be quartered in Pontus, nd, by consequence, had not suffered in the late de- feats. The fifteenth legion had lately joined the army, as also a body of select troops from Illyricum and Egypt, with the cavalry, the cohorts, and auxiliaries sent by the confederate kings. The whole force as- sembled at Melitene, where Corbulo proposed to cross the Euphrates. His first care was to purify his army by a solemn lustration.[1] Those rites performed, he called his men to a meeting, and in a spirited harangue painted forth the auspicious government of the reign- ing prince: he mentioned his own exploits, and im- puted to the imbecility of Pætus all the disasters that happened. The whole of his discourse was delivered

1 This superstitious ceremony is described by Livy. The soldiers were drawn out on an open plain, and crowned with laurel wreaths, while victims were sacrificed to the god of war. The general harangued his men on the occasion. Livy, i. 28.

in style of authority, the true eloquence c dier.

XXVII. He began his march without de chose the road formerly traversed by Lucullus first given orders to his men to open the pa remove the obstructions with which time a disuse had choked up part of the way. H that ambassadors from Tiridates and Vologe advancing with overtures of peace, and havi clination to treat them with disdain, he sent some chosen centurions, with instructions neitl nor arrogant, in substance stating, 'that the m standing between the two nations might still promised, without proceeding to the decisio sword. Both armies had fought with alternat tudes of fortune, in some instances favorabl Romans, in others to the Parthians; and fr events both sides might derive a lesson ag pride and insolence of victory. It was the in Tiridates to receive, at the hands of the Rom ror, a kingdom in a florishing state, befor armies laid a scene of desolation; and Vologes consult his own advantage, as well as that of ple, by preferring the friendship of Rome to bition and the havoc of a destructive war. The dissensions that distract the kingdom of Parthi well known. It is also known that Vologese his subjects fierce and barbarous nations, whoi can check, no government can control. Ner contrary, sees a settled calm throughout the world, and, except the rupture with Parthia other war on his hands.' Such was Corbulo's To give it weight, he added the terrors of th

1 *Lucullus* commanded the legions in Armenia, *685. See* Plutarch, life of Lucullus.

The grandees of Armenia, who had been the first to revolt, were driven out of their possessions, and their castles were levelled to the ground. Between the weak who made no resistance, and the brave and resolute, no distinction was made. All were involved in one common danger; no place was safe; hills and mountains no less than the open plain were filled with consternation.

XXVIII. The name of Corbulo was not, as is usual among adverse nations, hated by the enemy. He was on the contrary held in high esteem, and by consequence his advice had great weight with the barbarians. Vologeses did not wish for a general war. He desired a truce in favor of some particular provinces. Tiridates proposed an interview with the Roman general. An early day was appointed. The place for the congress was chosen by the prince on the very spot where Pætus and his legions were invested. The scene of their late victory flattered the pride of the barbarians. Corbulo did not decline the meeting. The face of things he knew was changed, and the reverse of fortune was glorious to himself. The disgrace of Pætus gave him no anxiety. Having resolved to pay the last funeral rites to the slaughtered soldiers, whose bodies lay weltering on the field, he chose for that purpose the son of the vanquished general, then a military tribune, and ordered him to march at the head of the companies appointed to perform that melancholy duty. On the day fixed for the convention Tiberius Alexander,[1] a Roman knight, who had been sent

1 Tiberius Alexander was by birth one of the Jewish nation, but an apostate from the religion of his country. Joseph. Jewish Antiq. xx. 5. The emperors frequently sent their chosen favorites to attend the general; but, in fact, to be spies *on his conduct.*

by Nero to superintend the operations of the campaig and with him Vivianus Annius, son-in-law to Corbu but not yet of senatorian age,[1] though, in the absen of his superior officer, he was appointed to comma the fifth legion, arrived in the camp of Tiridates in t character of hostages, chosen not only to remove fr the mind of the prince all suspicion, but at the sa time to do him honor. The Parthian and the Rom general proceeded to the interview, each attended twenty horsemen. As soon as they drew near Ti dates leaped from his horse. Corbulo returned t compliment. They advanced on foot, and took ea other by the hand.

XXIX. The Roman general addressed the princ He praised the judgment of a young man, who had t moderation to prefer pacific measures to the calamiti of war. Tiridates expatiated on the splendor of h illustrious line, and then taking a milder tone, agre to set out on a journey to Rome. In a juncture wh the affairs of Parthia were in a flourishing state, a prin descended from the Arsacides, humbling himself befo the emperor, would present to the Roman people a ne scene of glory. It was then settled as a preliminar article that Tiridates should lay down the regal di dem at the foot of Nero's statue, and never again r sume it till delivered to him by the hands of the emp ror. The parties embraced each other, and the co vention ended.

In a few days afterwards the two armies were draw out with great military pomp. On one side stood t Parthian cavalry, ranged in battalions, with all th pride of eastern magnificence. The Roman legions ap peared on the opposite ground, the eagles glittering t

1 Not yet five-and-twenty.

e, the banners displayed, and the images of the
in regular order, forming a kind of temple. In
ntre stood a tribunal, and on it a curule chair
ting the statue of Nero. Tiridates approached.
g immolated the victims with the usual rites, he
he diadem from his brow, and laid it at the foot
statue. The spectators gazed with earnest ardor,
ery bosom heaved with mixed emotions. The
where the legions were besieged and forced to
late was before the eye, and the same spot ex-
l a reverse of fortune. They saw Tiridates on
int of setting out for Rome, a spectacle to the
s through which he was to pass, and to exhibit,
presence of Nero, the humble condition of a
nt prince;—how little better than a captive!

X. To the glory resulting from these events
lo added the graceful qualities of affability and
icension. He invited Tiridates to a banquet.
rince was struck with the novelty of Roman
rs. Every object awakened his curiosity. He
l to know the reason of all that he observed.
the watch[1] was stationed, why was it announced
centurion? Why did the company, when the
et closed, rise from table at the sound of a trum-
nd why was the fire on the augural altar lighted
torch? The Roman general answered all in-
s, not without partiality for his country. He
idised every thing, and gave the Parthian the
t idea of the manners and institutions of the
t Romans. On the following day Tiridates de-
easonable time to prepare for so long a journey,

e night in a Roman camp was divided into four watches,
r the space of three hours. When the sentinels were
d notice was *given by* the sound of trumpet. See Hist.

and, before he undertook it, desired that he might be at liberty to visit his mother and his brothers. His request was granted. The prince delivered up his daughter as a hostage, and despatched letters to Nero in terms of submission.

XXXI. He met his two brothers, Pacorus in Media, and Vologeses at Ecbatana.[1] The Parthian king was not inattentive to the interest of Tiridates. He had already sent dispatches to Corbulo, requesting that his brother should not be disgraced by any circumstance that looked like a badge of slavery; that he should not be obliged to surrender his sword; that the honor of embracing the governors[2] of the several provinces should not be denied to him; that he should not undergo the humiliating affront of waiting at their gates, or in their antechambers; and that at Rome he should be treated with all the marks of distinction usually paid to the consuls. The truth is, the Parthian king, trained up in all the pride of despotism, knew but little of the Romans. He was not informed that it is the character and policy of that people to maintain, with zeal, the substantial interests of the empire, without any regard to petty formalities, the mere shadow of dominion.

XXXII. In the course of the year Nero granted the rights and privileges of Latium to the maritime nations[3] at the foot of the Alps. He likewise assigned

1 Vologeses, king of Parthia, and Pacorus, king of Media, were brothers to Tiridates.

2 None but persons of high rank were admitted to embrace the governors of provinces. According to the ideas of that age, the honor was so high, that the Parthian king thought proper to make it a preliminary article.

3 The capital of the maritime Alps was called Ebrodunum, *now* Embrun. See an account of the territories of the Duke *of Savoy. The* rights and privileges of Latium have been *already mentioned*, Annals, xv. 32.

to the Roman knights distinct seats in the circus, advancing them before the space allotted to the populace. Till this regulation took place the knights were mixed indiscriminately with the multitude, the Roscian law [1] extending to no more than fourteen rows of the theatre. A spectacle of gladiators was exhibited this year, in nothing inferior to the magnificence displayed on former occasions; but a number of senators and women of illustrious rank descended into the arena,[2] and by exhibiting their persons in the lists, brought disgrace on themselves and their families.

XXXIII. In the consulship of Caius Lecanius and Marcus Licinius Nero's passion for theatrical fame broke out with a degree of vehemence not to be resisted. He had hitherto performed in private only, during the sports of the Roman youth, called the Juvenalia; but on those occasions he was confined to his own palace or his gardens; a sphere too limited for such bright ambition, and so fine a voice. He glowed with impatience to present himself before the

1 The Roscian law, so called after L. Roscius Otho, was established A. U. C. 685. It assigned fourteen rows in the theatre to the Roman knights; but was silent as to the circus, where the senators, the knights, and the commonalty, were mixed in a promiscuous concourse. Afterwards, in the consulship of Cinna and Messala, A. U. C. 757, the senators and knights had a place assigned at the spectacle of the circus, where they sat apart from the plebeians, but without any distinction between their own two orders. Claudius allotted proper places for the senators; Suet. in Claud. § 21. It remained for Nero to take care of the equestrian order; Suet. in Neron. § 11.

2 Suetonius says Nero engaged four hundred senators and six hundred Roman knights, some of them of fair fortune and character, to enter the lists as gladiators, and encounter the wild beasts. He also invited the vestal virgins to see the wrestlers; *because, as he said,* at Olympia the priestesses of *Ceres were allowed the privilege* of seeing that diversion.

public eye, but had not yet the courage to mal
first appearance at Rome. Naples was deemed a C
city, and, for that reason, a proper place to begi
career of glory. With the laurels which he was
to acquire he might pass over into Greece, and
gaining, by victory in song, the glorious crown v
antiquity considered as a sacred prize, he might r
to Rome with his honors blooming round him, a
his celebrity inflame the curiosity of the popu
With this idea he pursued his plan. The thea
Naples was crowded with spectators. Not onl
inhabitants of the city, but a prodigious multitude
all the municipal towns and colonies in the neig
hood, flocked together, attracted by the novelty
spectacle so very extraordinary. All who followe
prince to pay their court, or as persons belongi
his train, attended on the occasion. The menial
vants, and even the common soldiers, were adm
to enjoy the pleasures of the day.

XXXIV. The theatre of course was crowded.
accident happened, which men in general consi
as an evil omen: with the emperor it passed for a
tain sign of the favor and protection of the gods.
soon as the audience dispersed the theatre tumbl
pieces. No other mischief followed. Nero seize
opportunity to compose hymns of gratitude. He
them himself, celebrating with melodious airs his h
escape from the ruin. Being now determined to
the Adriatic, he stopped at Beneventum. At that
Vatinius entertained him with a show of gladi
Of all the detestable characters that disgrace
court of Nero, this man was the most pernicious.
was bred up in a shoemaker's stall. Deformed i
person, he possessed a vein of ribaldry and v
humor which qualified him to succeed as buffoo

the character of a jester he recommended himself to notice, but soon forsook his scurrility for the trade of an informer; and having by the ruin of the worthiest citizens arrived at an eminence in guilt, he rose to wealth and power, the most dangerous miscreant of that evil period!

XXXV. Nero was a constant spectator of the sports exhibited at Beneventum; but even amidst this diversion his heart knew no pause from cruelty. He compelled Torquatus Silanus to put an end to his life, for no other reason than because he united to the splendor of the Junian family the honor of being great-grandson to Augustus. The prosecutors, suborned for the business, alleged against him, that having prodigally wasted his fortune in gifts and largesses, he had no resource left but war and civil commotion. With that design he retained about his person men of rank and distinction, employed in various offices: he had his secretaries, his treasurers, his paymasters, all in the style of imperial dignity, even then anticipating what his ambition aimed at. This charge being made in form, such of his freedmen as were known to be in the confidence of their master were seized and loaded with fetters. Silanus saw that his doom was impending, and to prevent the sentence of condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms. Nero, according to his custom, expressed himself in terms of lenity. 'The guilt of Silanus,' he said, 'was manifest; and though, by an act of despair, he showed that his crimes admitted no defence, his life would have been spared had he thought proper to trust to the clemency of his judge.'

XXXVI. In a short time after Nero, for reasons not sufficiently explained, resolved to defer his expe*dition into Greece.* He returned to Rome, cherishing

in imagination a new design to visit the eastern nations, and Egypt in particular. This project had for some time been settled in his mind. He announced it by a proclamation, in which he assured the people that his absence would be of short duration, and, in the interval, the peace and good order of the commonwealth would be in no kind of danger. For the success of his voyage he went to offer up prayers in the capitol. He proceeded thence to the temple of Vesta. Being there seized with a sudden tremor in every joint, arising either from a superstitious fear of the goddess, or from a troubled conscience, which never ceased to goad and persecute him, he renounced his enterprise altogether, artfully pretending that the love of his country, which he felt warm at his heart, was dearer to him than all other considerations. 'I have seen,' he said, 'the dejected looks of the people; I have heard the murmurs of complaint: the idea of so long a voyage afflicts the citizens; and, indeed, how should it be otherwise, when the shortest excursion I could make was always sure to depress their spirits? The sight of their prince has at all times been their comfort and their best support. In private families the pledges of natural affection can soften the resolutions of a father, and mould him to their purpose: the people of Rome have the same ascendant over the mind of their sovereign. I feel their influence; I yield to their wishes.' With these and such like expressions he amused the multitude. Their love of public spectacles made them eager for his presence, and, above all, they dreaded, if he left the capital, a dearth of provisions. The senate and the leading men looked on with indifference, unable to decide which was most to be *dreaded, his* presence in the city, or his tyranny at a *distance.* They agreed at length (as in alarming cases

ays in haste to conclude), that what hap-
the worst evil that could befall them.
[I. Nero wished it to be believed that Rome
ıce in which he most delighted. To diffuse
n, he established convivial meetings in all
ɜ and public places.[1] The whole city seemed
house. Of the various feasts given on this
hat which was prepared for the prince by
exceeded in profusion and luxury every
ıe kind. I shall here give a description of
ated entertainment, that the reader, from
le, may form his idea of the prodigality of
and that history may not be incumbered
etition of the same enormities. Tigellinus
anquet on the lake of Agrippa,[2] on a plat-
odigious size,[3] built for the reception of the

this magnificent edifice to and fro on the
prepared a number of boats superbly deco-
gold and ivory. The rowers were a band
Each had his station according to his age,
in the science of debauchery. The country
ransacked for game and animals of the
sh was brought from every sea, and even

ıs tells us that Nero frequently supped in public,
e Field of Mars or the Circus, attended at table
ıon women of the city, or from Syria. When he
the Tiber to Ostia, or coasted along the bay of
ıs, with all conveniences for drinking and de-
ɜre ranged on the margin of the sea, while ladies
stood like sirens, to invite the passengers from

e of Agrippa was in the gardens adjoining to his
the Pantheon.
ıtform was constructed by a great number of tim-
d *together, and left to* float on the water. Lucan
l such a platform with a tower on it.

from the ocean. On the borders of the lake brothels were erected, and filled with women of illustrious rank. On the opposite bank was seen a band of abandoned women, who made no secret of their vices. In dance and lascivious attitudes they displayed their nakedness. When night came on a sudden illumination from the adjacent groves and buildings blazed over the lake. A concert of music, vocal and instrumental, enlivened the scene. Nero rioted in all kinds of lascivious pleasure. Between lawful and unlawful gratifications he made no distinction. Corruption seemed to be at a stand, if, at the end of a few days, he had not devised a new abomination to fill the measure of his crimes. He personated a woman, and in that character was given in marriage to one of his infamous herd, a pathic named Pythagoras. The emperor of Rome, with the affected airs of female delicacy, put on the nuptial veil. The augurs assisted at the ceremony; the portion of the bride was openly paid; the genial bed was displayed to view; nuptial torches were lighted up; the whole ceremony was public.

XXXVIII. A dreadful calamity followed in a short time after, by some ascribed to chance, and by others[1] to the execrable wickedness of Nero. The authority of historians is on both sides, and which preponderates it is not easy to determine. It is however certain,

1 Suetonius relates the fire of Rome, and has no doubt of Nero's guilt. He tells us, that somebody repeating in conversation, 'When I am dead let fire devour the world;' 'Let it be,' said Nero, 'whilst I am living.' And accordingly, pretending to dislike the old buildings, and the narrow winding of the streets, he set fire to the city in so barefaced *a manner, that* several men of consular rank met Nero's *domestic servants* with torches and combustibles, but did not *dare to apprehend* them.

at of all the disasters that ever befell the city of
ome from the rage of fire, this was the worst, the
ost violent, and destructive. The flame broke out
that part of the circus which adjoins on one side
Mount Palatine, and, on the other, to Mount Cælius.
caught a number of shops stored with combustible
oods, and, gathering force from the winds, spread
ith rapidity from one end of the circus to the other.
either the thick walls of houses, nor the inclosure of
mples, nor any other building, could check the rapid
ogress of the flames. A dreadful conflagration fol-
wed. The level parts of the city were destroyed.
he fire communicated to the higher buildings, and,
ain laying hold of inferior places, spread with a de-
ee of velocity that nothing could resist. The form
f the streets, long and narrow, with frequent wind-
gs, and no regular opening, according to the plan of
ncient Rome,[1] contributed to increase the mischief.
he shrieks and lamentations of women, the infirmities
f age, and the weakness of the young and tender,
lded misery to the dreadful scene. Some endeavored
o provide for themselves, others to save their friends,
one part dragging along the lame and impotent, in
nother waiting to receive the tardy; or expecting re-
f themselves; they hurried, they lingered, they ob-
ructed one another; they looked behind, and the fire
oke out in front; they escaped from the flames, and
their place of refuge found no safety; the fire raged
every quarter; all were involved in one general
nflagration.

The unhappy wretches fled to places remote, and
ought themselves secure, but soon perceived the

1 Livy *observes that, after* the city was fired by the Gauls, *was rebuilt in close, narrow,* winding streets.

flames raging round them. Which way to turn, what to avoid or what to seek, no one could tell. They crowded the streets; they fell prostrate on the ground; they lay stretched in the fields, in consternation and dismay resigned to their fate. Numbers lost their whole substance, even the tools and implements by which they gained their livelihood, and, in that distress, did not wish to survive. Others, wild with affliction for their friends and relations whom they could not save, embraced a voluntary death and perished in the flames. During the whole of this dismal scene no man dared to attempt any thing that might check the violence of the dreadful calamity. A crew of incendiaries stood near at hand denouncing vengeance on all who offered to interfere. Some were so abandoned as to heap fuel on the flames. They threw in firebrands and flaming torches, proclaiming aloud that they had authority for what they did. Whether in fact they had received such horrible orders, or, under that device, meant to plunder with greater licentiousness, cannot now be known.

XXXIX. During the whole of this terrible conflagration Nero remained at Antium, without a thought of returning to the city, till the fire approached the building by which he had communicated the gardens of Mæcenas[1] with the imperial palace. All help however was too late. The palace, the contiguous edifices, and every house adjoining, were laid in ruins. To relieve the unhappy people, wandering in distress without a place of shelter, he opened the Field of Mars, as also the magnificent buildings raised by Agrippa,[2]

1 The gardens of Mæcenas were near Mount Esquiline.
2 The monuments of Agrippa were, his house, his gardens, his baths, and the Pantheon. The last remains at this day.

id even his own imperial gardens.[1] He ordered a umber of sheds to be thrown up with all possible de- patch, for the use of the populace. Household uten- ls and all kinds of necessary implements were brought om Ostia, and other cities in the neighborhood. The rice of grain was reduced to three sesterces. For cts like these, munificent and well-timed, Nero might ope for a return of popular favor; but his expectations ere in vain; no man was touched with gratitude. A eport prevailed[2] that, while the city was in a blaze, lero went to his own theatre, and there, mounting the tage, sung the destruction of Troy, as a happy allusion o the present misfortune.

XL. On the sixth day the fire was subdued at the oot of Mount Esquiline. This was effected by de- nolishing a number of buildings, and thereby leaving wide space, where for want of materials the flame xpired. The minds of men had scarce begun to re- over from their consternation when the fire broke out second time with no less fury than before. This hap- ened however in a more open quarter, where fewer ives were lost; but the temples of the gods, the porti- os and buildings raised for the decoration of the city were levelled to the ground. The popular odium was ow more inflamed than ever, as this second alarm be- an in the house of Tigellinus, formerly the mansion f Æmilius. A suspicion prevailed that, to build a ew city, and give it his own name, was the ambition of Nero. Of the fourteen quarters into which Rome was

1 Nero's gardens joined to the Vatican.

2 Suetonius says, in express terms, that Nero beheld the conflagration from a tower on the top of Mæcenas' house, and, being highly pleased with so grand a sight, went to his own theatre, and in his scenic dress tuned his harp, and sung the destruction *of Troy.*

divided, four only were left intire, three were red to ashes, and the remaining seven presented not better than a heap of shattered houses half in ruin

XLI. The number of houses, temples and insul mansions destroyed by the fire cannot be ascerta But the most venerable monuments of antiquity, w the worship of ages had rendered sacred, were la ruins; amongst these were the temple dedicate the moon by Servius Tullius; the fane and the altar consecrated by Evander, the Arcadian, to cules, his visitor and his guest;[1] the chapel of Ju Stator,[2] built by Romulus; the palace of Numa, the temple of Vesta,[3] with the tutelar gods of R With these were consumed the trophies of so victories, the inimitable works of the Grecian ar with the precious monuments of literature and an genius, all at present remembered by men adva in years, but irrecoverably lost. Not even the s dor with which the new city rose out of the ruin the old could compensate for that lamented disa It did not escape observation that the fire broke on the fourteenth before the calends of July,[4] remarkable for the conflagration kindled by the nones, when those barbarians took the city of F

1 Evander was originally a native of Arcadia in G The visit of Hercules forms a beautiful episode in Vi Æneid, viii.

2 For the temple of Jupiter Stator, see Livy, i. 12.

3 The palace of Numa was on Mount Palatine, after the mansion of Augustus, near the temple of Vesta, the vestal virgins watched the perpetual fire. See H i. 2.

4 The fourteenth of the calends of July, or the eight of June. This is confirmed by Livy, who says, vi. 1, the battle at Allia was fought on the fifteenth of the cal *and v. 41*, he says the victorious Gauls entered Rome o *following* day.

rm, and burnt it to the ground. Men of reflec- who refined on every thing with minute curiosity, ated the number of years, months, and days, he foundation of Rome to the firing of it by the ; and from that calamity to the present they the interval of time precisely the same.

II. Nero did not blush to convert to his own use ublic ruins of his country. He built a magni- palace,[1] in which the objects that excited admi- were neither gold nor precious stones. Those ations, long since introduced by luxury, were stale and hackneyed to the eye. A different s of magnificence was now consulted: expansive and fields of vast extent were intermixed with ng variety; woods and forests stretched to an asurable length, presenting gloom and solitude t scenes of open space, where the eye wandered surprise over an unbounded prospect. This pro- s plan was carried on under the direction of two yors, whose names were Severus and Celer. and original in their projects, these men under- to conquer nature, and to perform wonders even d the imagination and the riches of the prince. promised to form a navigable canal from the Avernus[2] to the mouth of the Tiber. The ex- ent, like the genius of the men, was bold and ; but it was to be carried over a long tract of

[1] According to Suetonius Nero turned the public calamity own private advantage. He promised to remove the that lay amidst the ruins, and to clear the ground at m expense. By that artifice he secured all the remain- operty of the unhappy sufferers for his own use. To his ill-gotten store, he levied contributions in the ces, and by those means collected an immense sum.

[2] The lake Avernus *was in the* neighborhood of Baiæ, now *Averno.*

barren land, and in some places through o mountains. The country round was parched a without one humid spot, except the Pomptinian from which water could be expected. A sch vast could not be accomplished without imm labor, and, if practicable, the end was in no tion to the expense and labor. But the prc and almost impossible had charms for the ente spirit of Nero. He began to hew a passage t the hills that surround the lake Avernus, an traces of his deluded hopes are visible at this d

XLIII. The ground, which, after marki his own domain, Nero left to the public, was out for the new city in a hurry and without juc as was the case after the irruption of the Ga regular plan was formed; the streets were ma and long; the elevation[2] of the houses was with an open area before the doors, and porti secure and adorn the front. The expense of t ticos Nero undertook to defray out of his o venue. He promised, besides, as soon as th was finished, to clear the ground, and leave space to every house, without any charge to th pier. In order to excite a spirit of industry an lation, he held forth rewards proportioned to th of each individual, provided the buildings were

1 Now Paludi Pontine, in the territory of Rome.

2 Strabo says that by an ordinance of Augustus, built house was to be more than seventy feet high. afterwards, according to Aurelius Victor, fixed the e at sixty feet. The rule prescribed by Nero cannot known.

3 We are told by Suetonius that Nero introduce model for building in the city, and, by porticos and *before the* front, contrived, in case of fire, to hinder tl *from spreading.*

ı limited time. The rubbish by his order was re-
ved to the marshes of Ostia, and the ships that
ught corn up the river were to return loaded with
refuse of the workmen. Add to all this, the
eral houses built on a new principle were to be
ed to a certain elevation, without beams or wood-
k, on arches of stone from the quarries of Alba or
ii;[1] those materials being impervious, and of a
ire to resist the force of fire. The springs of water,
ch had been before that time intercepted by indi-
ıals for their separate use, were no longer suffered
e diverted from their channel, but left to the care
ommissioners, that the public might be properly
plied, and in case of fire have a reservoir at hand
top the progress of the mischief.

: was also settled, that the houses should no longer
ontiguous, with slight party-walls to divide them;[2]
every house was to stand detached, surrounded and
lated by its own inclosure. These regulations, it
t be admitted, were of public utility, and added
h to the embellishment of the new city. But still
old plan of Rome was not without its advocates.
as thought more conducive to the health[3] of the
bitants. The narrowness of the streets and the
ation of the buildings served to exclude the rays

Vitruvius says that the Alban and Gabian stone was not hardest, but resisted fire; while the stone from other ries was apt, when heated, to crack, and fly off in frag-s.

Brotier observes that by a law of the Twelve Tables a e of something more than two feet was to be left between ew-built houses.

It is known, says Brotier, from the experience of medi-people, that at Rome there are more patients during ummer in the wide parts of the city, which lie open to un, than *in the narrow places*, where the inhabitants are *ed from the intense heat.*

of the sun; whereas the more open space, having neither shade nor shelter, left men exposed to the intense heat of the day.

XLIV. These several regulations were, no doubt, the best that human wisdom could suggest. The next care was to propitiate the gods. The sibylline books were consulted, and the consequence was that supplications were decreed to Vulcan, to Ceres, and Proserpine. A band of matrons offered their prayers and sacrifices to Juno, first in the capitol, and next on the nearest margin of the sea, where they supplied themselves with water to sprinkle the temple and the statue of the goddess. A select number of women who had husbands actually living, laid the deities on their sacred beds,[1] and kept midnight vigils with the usual solemnity. But neither these religious ceremonies, nor the liberal donations of the prince, could efface from the minds of men the prevailing opinion that Rome was set on fire by his own orders. The infamy of that horrible transaction still adhered to him. In order if possible to remove the imputation he determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpose he punished with exquisite torture a race of men detested for their evil practices,[2] by vulgar appellation commonly called Christians.

The name was derived from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius suffered under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea. By that event the sect of which he was the founder received a blow which for a time

1 The beds on which the gods and goddesses were extended at all public festivals were called lectisternia. See Livy, v. 13.

2 Brotier observes that the Jews, in that period of time were guilty of great enormities; and the distinction between them and the Christians not being understood, all were considered in the same light, despised and hated by the Romans

checked the growth of a dangerous superstition ;[1] but it revived soon after, and spread with recruited vigor,

1 This was the first persecution of the Christians. Nero, the declared enemy of humankind, waged war against a religion which has since diffused the light of truth, and humanised the savages of Europe. It is true, as Suetonius relates, that Claudius banished the Jews, who were raising seditious tumults at the instigation of one Chrestus. That name, it is almost needless to observe, cannot, at least ought not to be confounded with Jesus Christ; who, it was well known at Rome, had suffered under Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius. Chrestus, Brotier observes, was not an uncommon name among the Greeks and Romans. When the Jews were ordered by Claudius to depart from Rome, all of that nation who professed themselves followers of Christ were, without distinction, included in the number. The edict of the emperor was not pointed against the Christians. Nero appears to be the first that attacked them as the professors of a new religion; and when such a man as Tacitus calls it a dangerous superstition, it must be allowed that indirectly an apology is made for Nero. But for Tacitus, who had opportunities for a fair inquiry, and ability to know and decide, what excuse can be offered? The vices of the Jews were imputed to the Christians without discrimination, and Tacitus suffered himself to be hurried away by the torrent of popular prejudice. And yet we find that his friend Pliny, during his administration in the province of Bithynia, thought and acted with moderation. The Christians were under a prosecution: Pliny, in his character of proconsular governor, was in doubt how to proceed. He wrote to the emperor Trajan on the subject; and after stating that the real Christians were not to be forced by any means whatever to renounce the articles of their belief, he proceeds to the sum total of their guilt, which he found to be as follows: 'They met on a stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a prayer or hymn to Christ, as to a god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for any wicked purpose, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust reposed in them: after which it was their custom to separate, and then re-assemble to eat their meal together, in a manner perfectly harmless and inoffensive. They desisted,' says Pliny, 'from this custom after my edict, issued according to your order, against the holding of any assemblies whatever.' Such is the account of the religion which Tacitus calls a pernicious *superstition*. Pliny adds, in the same letter, *that in order to come at the* real truth he ordered two female

not only in Judea, the soil that gave it birth, but even in the city of Rome, the common sink into which every thing infamous and abominable flows like a torrent from all quarters of the world. Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and on the evidence of such men a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed on clear evidence of their having set the city on fire, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race.[1] They were put to death with exquisite cruelty, and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable mat-

slaves to be put to the torture, but he could discover nothing more than a rooted and excessive superstition. Trajan, in his answer to this letter, determines, that if Christians are brought before the governor, and proved to be guilty, they must be punished, unless they renounce their errors and invoke the gods of Rome. In that case they were to be pardoned, notwithstanding any former suspicion. But the emperor says to his minister, 'I would not have you officiously enter into any inquiries concerning them.' Pliny's letter, Mr. Melmoth observes, is esteemed as almost the only genuine monument of ecclesiastical antiquity relating to the times immediately succeeding the apostles, being written not above forty years after the death of Paul. It was preserved by the Christians themselves, as a clear and unsuspicious evidence of the purity of their doctrines. It is therefore with good reason, says Brotier, that Tertullian, in a strain of exultation, declares that the Christians, 'for their innocence, their probity, justice, truth, and for the living God, were burnt alive. The cruelty, ye persecutors, is all your own; the glory is ours.'

1 The Jews, as will be seen in the History, v. 5, were charged with harboring a sullen aversion towards all mankind. It is unnecessary to vindicate the Christian religion from that imputation.

ter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night.[1]

For the convenience of seeing this tragic spectacle the emperor lent his own gardens. He added the sports of the circus, and assisted in person, sometimes driving a curricle, and occasionally mixing with the rabble in his coachman's dress. At length the cruelty of these proceedings filled every breast with compassion. Humanity relented in favor of the Christians. The manners of that people were, no doubt, of a pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice: but it was evident that they fell a sacrifice, not for the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only.

XLV. Meanwhile, to supply the unbounded prodigality of the prince, all Italy was ravaged; the provinces were plundered; and the allies of Rome, with the several places that enjoyed the title of free cities, were put under contribution. The very gods were taxed. Their temples in the city were rifled of their treasures, and heaps of massy gold, which, through a series of ages, the virtue of the Roman people, either returning thanks for victories, or performing their vows made in the hour of distress, had dedicated to religious uses, were now produced to answer the demands of riot and extravagance. In Greece and Asia rapacity was not content with seizing the votive offerings that adorned the temples, but even the very statues of the gods were deemed lawful pray. To carry this impious robbery into execution Acratus and Secundus Carinas were sent with a special commission: the former, one of Nero's freedmen, of a genius ready for any black design: the latter, a man of literature, *with the Greek* philosophy fluent in his

1 *Juvenal alludes, with his* usual indignation, to the horrous *cruelties described* by Tacitus.

mouth, and not one virtue at his heart. It was a report current at the time that Seneca, wishing to throw from himself all responsibility for these impious acts, desired leave to retire to some part of Italy. Not being able to succeed in his request, he feigned a nervous disorder, and never stirred out of his room. If credit be due to some writers, a dose of poison was prepared for him by Cleonicus, one of his freedmen, by the instigation of Nero. The philosopher, however, warned by the same servant, whose courage failed him, or perhaps shielded from danger by his own wary disposition, escaped the snare. He lived at that very time on the most simple diet: wild apples that grew in the woods were his food; and water from the clear purling stream served to quench his thirst.

XLVI. About the same time a body of gladiators, detained in custody at Præneste, made an attempt to recover their liberty. The military guard was called out, and the tumult died away. The incident, notwithstanding, revived the memory of Spartacus.[1] The calamities that followed the daring enterprise of that adventurer became the general topic, and filled the minds of all with dreadful apprehension. Such is the genius of the populace, ever prone to sudden innovations, yet terrified at the approach of danger. In a few days after advice was received that the fleet had suffered by a violent storm. This was not an event of war, for there never was a period of such profound tranquillity; but Nero had ordered the ships on a stated day to assemble on the coast of Campania. The dangers of the sea never entered into his consideration. His orders were peremptory. The pilots, to mark their zeal, set sail in tempestuous weather *from the* port of Formia. While they were endea-

1 *Spartacus*, a gladiator, kindled up the Servile War, A. U. C. 681.

voring to double the cape of Misenum a squall of wind from the south threw them on the coast of Cuma, where a number of the larger galleys, and almost all the smaller vessels, were dashed to pieces.

XLVII. Towards the close of the year omens and prodigies filled the minds of the people with apprehensions of impending mischief. Such dreadful peals of thunder were never known. A comet appeared, and that phenomenon was a certain prelude to some bloody act to be committed by Nero. Monstrous births, such as men and beasts with double heads, were seen in the streets and public ways; and in the midst of sacrifices which required victims big with young, the light conceptions fell from the entrails of animals slain at the altar. In the territory of Placentia a calf was dropped with its head growing at the extreme part of the leg. The construction of the soothsayers was, that another head was preparing for the government of the world, but would prove weak, insufficient, and be soon detected, like the monstrous productions, which did not rest concealed in the womb, but came before their time, and lay exposed to public view near the high road.

XLVIII. Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus entered on their consulship. In that juncture a deep conspiracy was formed, and carried on with such a spirit of enterprise, that in the moment of its birth it was almost ripe for execution. Senators, Roman knights, military men, and even women, gave in their names with emulation, all incited by their zeal for Caius Piso and their detestation of Nero. Piso was descended from the house of Calpurnius, by his paternal line related to the first families in Rome. His virtues, or his amiable qualities that resembled virtues, made him the *idol of the people.* An orator of high distinction, he

employed his eloquence in the defence of his fellow-citizens: possessed of great wealth, he was generous to his friends: by nature courteous, he was affable and polite to all. To these accomplishments he united a graceful figure and an engaging countenance. In his moral conduct neither strict nor regular, he led a life of voluptuous ease, fond of pomp and splendor, and at times free and luxurious in his pleasures. His irregularities served to grace his character. At a time when vice had charms for all orders of men it was not expected that the sovereign should lead a life of austerity and self-denial.

XLIX. The conspiracy did not originate from the ambition of Piso. Among so many bold and generous spirits, it is not easy to name the person who first set the whole in motion. Subrius Flavius, a tribune of the pretorian guards, and Sulpicius Asper, were the active leaders. The firmness with which they afterwards met their fate sufficiently marks their characters. Annæus Lucan, the celebrated poet, and Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, entered into the plot with ardor and inflamed resentment. Lucan had personal provocations: Nero was an enemy to his rising fame: not being able to vie with that eminent genius, he ordered him not to make his verses public, determined to silence what he vainly strove to emulate. Lateranus brought with him no private animosity: he acted on nobler principles: the love of his country inspired him, and he knew no other motive. Flavius Scevinus and Afranius Quintianus, both of senatorian rank, stood forth to guide the enterprise with a degree of spirit little expected from the tenor of their lives. Scevinus, addicted to his pleasures, passed his *days in* luxury, sloth, and languor. Quintianus was *decried for* the effeminacy of his manners. Nero had

lampooned him in a copy of defamatory verses, and to revenge the injury Quintianus became a patriot.

L. The conspirators had frequent meetings. They inveighed against the vices of Nero: they painted forth, in glaring colors, all his atrocious deeds by which the empire was brought to the brink of ruin: they urged the necessity of choosing a successor equal to the task of restoring a distressed and tottering state, and in the interval enlisted in their confederacy several Roman knights, namely, Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Festus. Senecio, the first in the list, had lived in the closest intimacy with the prince, and, being still obliged to wear the mask, he found the interval big with anxiety, mistrust, and danger. Antonius Natalis was the bosom friend and confidential agent of Piso: the rest had their separate views, and in a revolution hoped to find their private advantage. There were, besides Subrius Flavius and Sulpicius Asper, already mentioned, a number of military men ready to draw their swords in the cause. In this class were Granius Silvanus and Statius Proximus, both tribunes of the pretorian bands; Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, two centurions. But the main strength and pillar of the party was Fenius Rufus,[1] commander-in-chief of the pretorian guards; a man of principle, and for the integrity of his conduct esteemed and honored by the people. But Tigellinus stood in higher favor with the prince, and by his cruel devices no less than by his taste for riot and debauchery, so ingratiated himself, that he was able to supplant the pretorian prefect, and by secret accusations to endanger his life. He repre-

1 Fenius *Rufus has been mentioned* to his honor, Annals, *xiv. 51.*

sented him to Nero as the favored lover of Agrippina,[1] still cherishing a regard for her memory, and lying in wait for an opportunity to revenge her wrongs.

Rufus inclined to the discontented party, and at length declared himself willing to assist their enterprise. Encouraged by this accession of strength, the conspirators began to think of the decisive blow, and to deliberate about the time and place. We are told that Subrius Flavius resolved to take to himself the glory of the deed. Two different schemes occurred to him. One was, while the prince was singing on the stage, to despatch him in sight of the whole theatre. His second project was, while Nero was rambling abroad in his midnight frolics to set fire to the palace, and in the tumult to take him by surprise unattended by his guards. The last seemed to be the safest measure. The tyrant, unseen and unassisted, would fall a devoted victim, and die in solitude. On the other hand, the idea of a brave exploit, performed in the presence of applauding numbers, fired the generous ardor of that heroic mind. But prudential considerations had too much weight. He wished to gain immortal fame, and he thought of his own personal safety; a tame reflection, always adverse to every great and noble enterprise.

LI. While the conspirators lingered in suspense, prolonging the awful period of their hopes and fears, a woman of the name of Epicharis, apprised of the plot (by what means is still a mystery), began to animate their drooping spirit, and to blame their cold delay. What made her conduct singular on this occasion was, that before this time not one great or honorable sentiment was ever known to have entered her

1 Agrippina, Nero's murdered mother.

. Seeing the business languish, she retired in st, and went into Campania. But a spirit like :ould not be at rest. She endeavored to seduce the rs of the fleet then lying at Misenum. She began ıpproaches to Volusius Proculus, an officer who ınder his command a thousand marines. He was f the assassins employed in the tragic catastrophe ero's mother. His reward, he thought, was in ·oportion to the magnitude of the crime. Being n to Epicharis, or having then contracted a re- friendship, he began to disclose the secrets of eart. He enumerated his exploits in Nero's ser- and complained of the ingratitude with which he ill requited; avowing at the same time a fixed ntion to revenge himself whenever an opportu- offered. The woman from this discourse con- d hopes of gaining a proselyte, and by his means mber of others. She saw that a revolt in the would be of the greatest moment. Nero was of sailing parties on the coast of Misenum and oli, and would by consequence put himself in the r of the mariners.

ıicharis entered into close conference with Pro- ı: she recapitulated the various acts of cruelty nitted by Nero. 'The fathers,' she said, 'had .oubt remaining; they were of one mind; all ɔd, that a tyrant, who overturned the laws and ɪitution of his country, ought to fall a sacrifice to ıjured people.' She added, that Proculus would ell to co-operate with the friends of liberty. If ndled the same spirit in the minds of the soldiers, 'e reward would wait him. In the fervor of her she had the prudence to conceal the names of the pirators. *That precaution* served to screen her

afterwards, when the marine officer turned informer, and betrayed the whole to Nero. She was cited to answer, and confronted with her accuser; but the charge resting intirely on the evidence of one man, without a circumstance to support it, was easily eluded. Epicharis, notwithstanding, was detained in custody. Nero's suspicions were not to be removed. The accusation was destitute of proof, but he was not the less inclined to believe the worst.

LII. The undaunted firmness of Epicharis did not quiet the apprehensions of the conspirators. Dreading a discovery, they determined to execute their purpose without delay. The place they fixed on was a villa belonging to Piso, in the neighborhood of Baiæ, where the emperor, attracted by the beauties of that delightful spot, was used to enjoy the pleasure of bathing, and his convivial parties, divested of his guards, and unincumbered by the parade of state. Piso objected to the measure. 'What would the world say, if his table were imbrued with blood, and the gods of hospitality violated by the murder of a prince, however detested for his atrocious deeds! Rome was the proper theatre for such a catastrophe. The scene should be in his own palace, that haughty mansion built with the spoils of plundered citizens. The blow for liberty would be still more noble before an assembly of the people. The actions of men who dared nobly for the public should be seen by the public eye.'

Such were the objections advanced by Piso in the presence of the conspirators: in his heart he had other reasons. He dreaded Lucius Silanus,[1] knowing his

1 *Lucius* Silanus, the son of Marcus Junius Silanus.

gh descent, and the rare accomplishments which he ıd acquired under the care of Caius Cassius,[1] who ıd trained him from his youth, and formed his mind ı every thing great and honorable. A man thus disnguished might aspire to the imperial dignity. All ho stood aloof from the conspiracy would be ready ı second his ambition; and most probably would be ined by others, whom the fate of a devoted prince, ıt off by treachery, might touch with compassion. iso was supposed to have another secret motive: he new the genius and the ardent spirit of Vestinus ıe consul. A man of his character might think of storing the old republic, or be for choosing another mperor, to show mankind that the sovereign power as a gift to be disposed of according to his will and leasure. Vestinus, in fact, had no share in the conıiracy, though he was afterwards charged as an acomplice; and under that pretence doomed to death y the unappeasable malice and the cruelty of Nero.

LIII. At length the conspirators fixed their day. hey chose the time of the public games, which were ıon to be performed in the circus, according to estalished usage, in honor of Ceres. During that festival ıe emperor, who rarely showed himself to the people, ut remained sequestered in his palace or his gardens, ould not fail to attend his favorite diversions; and ı that scene of gaiety access to his person would not e difficult. The assault was to be made in the folıwing manner: Lateranus, a man of undaunted resoıtion and an athletic form, was to approach the prince, ith an humble air of supplication, as if to intreat elief for himself and family; and in the act of falling t his feet, to overthrow him by some sudden exer-

1 Caius Cassius, banished to Sardinia, A. U. C. 818. See *nnals, xii. 11 and 12.*

tion, and by his weight keep him stretched on the ground. In that condition the tribunes, the centurions, and the rest of the conspirators, as the opportunity offered, and as courage prompted, were to fall on, and sacrifice their victim to the just resentments of the people.

Scevinus claimed the honor of being the first to strike. For this purpose he had taken a dagger from the temple of Health in Etruria; or, as some writers will have it, from the temple of Fortune, in the city of Ferentum. This instrument he carried constantly about him, as a sacred weapon, dedicated to the cause of liberty. It was farther settled, that during the tumult Piso was to take his post in the temple of Ceres, and there remain till such time as Fenius and his confederates should call him forth and conduct him to the camp. To conciliate the favor of the people Antonia, the daughter of the late emperor, was to appear in the cavalcade. This last circumstance, since it is related by Pliny, must rest on his authority. If it came from a less respectable quarter I should think myself at liberty to suppress it; but it may be proper to ask, is it probable that Antonia would hazard her reputation, and even her life, in a project so uncertain, and so big with danger? Is it probable that Piso, distinguished by his conjugal affection, could agree at once to abandon a wife whom he loved, and marry another to gratify his own wild ambition? But it may be said, of all the passions that inflame the human mind, ambition is the most fierce and ardent, of power to extinguish every other sentiment.

LIV. In a conspiracy like the present, so widely diffused among persons of different ages, rank, sex, *and condition*, some of them poor, and others rich, it *may well be* matter of wonder that nothing transpired

ıe discovery burst out at once from the house of nus. This active partisan, on the day preceding ıtended execution of the plot, had a long confe- with Antonius Natalis; after which he returned , and having sealed his will, unsheathed his sa- dagger, already mentioned. Finding it blunted ng disuse he gave it to Milichus, his freedman, well whetted, and sharpened at the point. In ıean time he went to his meal, more sumptuously d than had been his custom. To his favorite s he granted their freedom, and among the rest ibuted sums of money. He affected an air of y; he talked of indifferent things with counter- l cheerfulness; but a cloud hung over him, and lainly showed that some grand design was labor- n his breast. He desired the same Milichus to are bandages for the bracing of wounds, and ap- tions to stop the effusion of blood. If this man before that time apprised of the plot he had till acted with integrity; but the more probable opi- is that he was never trusted, and now from all ircumstances drew his own conclusion.

ıe reward of treachery no sooner presented itself ıe servile mind of an enfranchised slave than he wealth and power inviting him to betray his er. The temptation was bright and dazzling: y principle gave way; the life of his patron was ıt nought; and for the gift of freedom no sense ratitude remained. He advised with his wife, and ıle advice was the worst he could take. The wo- , with all the art and malice of her sex, alarmed fears. Other slaves, she said, and other freedmen, an eye on all that passed. The silence of one d be of no use. The whole would be brought to

light; and he who first made the discovery would be intitled to the reward.

LV. At the dawn of day Milichus made the best of his way to the gardens of Servilius. Being refused admittance, he declared that he had business of the first importance; nothing less than the discovery of a dark and dangerous conspiracy. The porter conducted him to Epaphroditus, one of Nero's freedmen, who introduced him to the presence of his master. Milichus informed the emperor of his danger, and laid open the machinations of his enemies with all that he knew and all that he conjectured. He produced the dagger destined to give the mortal stab, and desired to be confronted with the criminal.

Scevinus was seized by the soldiers, and dragged in custody to answer the charge. 'The dagger,' he said, 'was a sacred relic, left to him by his ancestors. He had preserved it with veneration, and kept it safe in his chamber till the perfidy of a slave surreptitiously conveyed it away. As to his will, he had often changed it, often signed and sealed a new one, without any distinction of days. He had been always generous to his domestics: nor was it now for the first time that he had given freedom to some, and to others liberal donations. If in the last instance his bounty exceeded the former measure the reason was, that being reduced in his circumstances, and pressed by his debts, he was afraid that his will would be declared void in favor of his creditors. With regard to his table, it was well known that his style of living had ever been elegant, and even profuse, to a degree that drew on him the censure of rigid moralists. To the preparations of bandages and styptics he was an utter stranger. None *were* made by his order. The whole was the invention

of a vile informer, who found himself destitute of proof, and, to prop his infamous calumny, dared to fabricate a new charge, at once the author and the witness of a lie.' This defence was uttered by Scevinus in a tone of firmness, and the intrepidity of his manner gave it strength and credit. He pronounced the informer a notorious profligate, and by consequence an incompetent witness. This he urged with such an air of confidence, and with so much energy, that the information would have fallen to the ground, if the wife of Milichus had not observed, in the presence of her husband, that a long and secret interview had taken place between the prisoner and Natalis, both connected in the closest friendship with Caius Piso.

LVI. Natalis was cited to appear. Scevinus and he were examined apart touching their late meeting. What was their business? and what was the conversation that passed between them? Their answers did not agree. Fresh suspicions arose, and both were loaded with irons. At the sight of the rack their resolution failed. Natalis was the first to confess the guilt. He knew all the particulars of the conspiracy, and was by consequence able to support his information. He named Caius Piso, and proceeded next to Seneca. He had probably been employed as a messenger between Seneca and Piso; or knowing the inveterate rancor with which Nero sought the destruction of his tutor, he intended by that charge, however false, to make terms for himself. Scevinus, as soon as he heard that Natalis had made a discovery, saw the inutility of remaining silent. Thinking the whole conspiracy detected, he yielded to his fears; and, following a mean example of pusillanimity, discovered *his accomplices.* *Three* of the number, namely, Lu-

can, Quintianus, and Senecio, persisted for some time to deny the whole with undaunted firmness, till induced at length by a promise of pardon, they thought they could not do enough to atone for their obstinacy. Lucan did not scruple to impeach[1] his own mother,

1 The weakness here imputed to Lucan cannot be read by any man who has a respect for genius, and the true dignity of the human character, without emotions of pity and regret. But, perhaps, without any studied comment, the case admits a plain and obvious apology. Two eminent men (Natalis and Scevinus) had been taken into custody. At the sight of the rack their resolution failed, and they discovered their accomplices. Lucan knew that the same engine of cruelty was ready for himself and his two friends, Quintianus and Senecio. All three were tempted by a promise of pardon, and they endeavored to earn it by making discoveries. Lucan might think that his mother, a woman who boasted neither rank nor fortune, would not, among a great number of daring conspirators, be deemed an object worthy of notice; and, besides, the terrors of the rack may conquer the most heroic mind. When the executioner appears with his torturing engines it is no longer a moment of courage. He who in the ranks of war is ready to face every danger may shrink from the pangs prepared for him in a dungeon, where he must suffer under a villain's hand, unseen, unpitied, unapplauded. When Felton, who stabbed the duke of Buckingham at Portsmouth, was examined before the privy council, the bishop of London said to him, 'If you will not confess you must go to the rack.' The man replied: 'If it must be so, I know not whom I may accuse; perhaps some lord at this board.' 'Sound sense,' says Judge Foster, 'in the mouth of an enthusiast and a ruffian!' In the same distress, the same hurry and perturbation of spirit, Lucan mentioned his mother. He might think that she was not of consequence to provoke resentment; and the event showed, if he thought so, that his conclusion was right. Nero affected to forget her. She and Seneca's wife were suffered to live. For these reasons the conduct of Lucan may admit of some extenuation; more especially, when he had before his eyes the example of senators, and men of consular rank. But a late writer thinks he has discovered a better ground of defence. He denies the fact, and says Tacitus has adopted a gross calumny, invented by Nero to vilify the object of his envious abhorrence. But it may be asked, if Nero framed the story, is it probable that

ame was Acilia. Quintianus gave informa-
inst Glicius Gallus, his dearest friend; and
in like manner, betrayed Annius Pollio.

Nero did not forget that Epicharis was still
in custody on the evidence of Volusius Pro-
The weakness of a female frame, he imagined,
ot be able to endure the pangs of the rack.
efore ordered her to be put to the most exqui-
ture. But neither stripes, nor fire, nor the
age of the executioners, who were determined
e baffled by a woman, could subdue a mind
s, firm, constant, and undaunted to the last.
ord was extorted from her. Her misery ended
day. On the next the same cruelty was pre-
Epicharis had no strength left. Her limbs
nt and dislocated. The executioners provided

who wages an incessant war against evil men and
s, would have descended to be the accomplice of a
Tacitus, through the whole of his narrative, has
e justice to all who died with glory; to Epicharis,
hised slave, who displayed her constancy in defi-
keenest torture; to Seneca, who left an example
virtue; to Subrius Flavius, whose last words to
'I hated you when you became a coachman, a
nd an incendiary;' to Sulpicius Asper, the cen-
above all, to Lucan himself, who died with un-
rage, repeating a passage from his own poem.
e remembered that when Lucan's father suffered
following year, Tacitus says that the son re-
ghest honor on the father. The writer who has
with so much candor would neither adopt nor
mny to brand his name in the page of history.
de this long note: it is by no means probable
who wrote in the reign of Trajan, not much
ty years after the death of Lucan, would ha-
falsehood in the face of his contemporaries;
robable that Mr. Hayley, at the distance of
years, should be better informed than the
vho lived at the very time of the transaction.
William Hayley, Esq., iii. 206.

a chair to convey her to the place of torture. While they were conducting her she took from her breast the girdle that braced her garments; and, having fastened one end of it to the top of the chair, made a noose for her neck, and, throwing herself from her seat, hung suspended with the whole weight of her body. In her mangled condition the remains of life were soon extinguished.

Such was the fate of this magnanimous woman. She left behind her a glorious example of truth and constancy; the more striking, as this generous part was acted by an enfranchised slave, to save the lives of men in no degree related to her, and almost unknown. With heroic fortitude she endured the worst that malice could inflict, at a time when men of illustrious birth, when officers, Roman knights and senators, untried by the pangs of torture, betrayed, with a kind of emulation, their friends, their relations, and all that was dear to them. Quintianus, Senecio, and even Lucan, continued to give in the names of the conspirators. Every new discovery filled Nero with consternation, though he had doubled his guard, and taken every precaution to secure his person.

LVIII. Parties of soldiers under arms were stationed in every quarter; on the walls of Rome, on the sea-coast, and along the banks of the Tiber. The city presented the appearance of a garrisoned town. The forum and the open squares were filled with cohorts of horse and foot. The neighboring villages and the country round were invested. Even private houses were secured. The German soldiers, ordered out on duty, mixed with the rest of the army. Being foreigners, Nero depended on their fidelity. The conspirators were led forth, in a long procession, to the tribunal of the prince. They stood in crowds at his

-gate, waiting their turn to be summoned before
[n regular succession they were admitted to an
:e, and every trifle was magnified into a crime.
:, a look, a whisper, a casual meeting at a con-
ıarty or a public show, was evidence of treason.
as it sufficient that Nero and Tigellinus were
nd vehement in their inquiries; Fenius Rufus
ı active part. Having hitherto escaped detec-
: thought that violence against his accomplices
be the best way to screen himself. While he
ıgerly pressing them with questions Subrius
ı, the pretorian tribune, by signs and tokens
:d to him his intention to cut off the tyrant in
dst of the examination. He had his hand on
t of his sword, when Rufus checked the brave

. On the first detection of the plot, while Mi-
was giving his evidence, and Scevinus was still
ng and irresolute, some of the conspirators ex-
Piso to show himself in the camp, or to mount
blic rostra, in order to gain the affections of the
.nd the people. 'Let your friends,' they said,
ıble in a body; let them stand forth in your
and they will be joined by numbers. The fame
impending revolution would excite a general
and fame in great undertakings has been often
to decide the event. Nero will be taken by
ıe; on his part no measures are concerted. In
ı commotions the bravest are often struck with
; and if courage may be thus overpowered, what
: the case of a theatrical emperor, a scenic per-
', a vile comedian, assisted by Tigellinus and
nd of harlots? In all great enterprises the at-
appears *impracticable* to little minds; but the
ınd valiant know that to dare is to conquer.

In a plot in which numbers were embarked the silence of all could not be expected. The mind will waver, and the body will shrink from pain. There is no secret so deeply laid but bribery will draw it forth, or cruelty can extort it. The guards, in a short time, might seize Piso himself, and drag him to an ignominious death. How much more glorious to fall bravely in the cause of liberty! to die sword in hand, vindicating the rights of freeborn men, and rousing the army and the people to their own just defence! The soldiers may refuse to join, and the people may be guilty of treachery to themselves; but, even in that case, how noble to close the scene with a spirit worthy of your ancestors, blessed with the wishes of the present age, and the applause of all posterity!'

These exhortations made no impression on Piso. He retired to his own house, and there fortified his mind against the worst that could happen. A band of soldiers broke in on him, all selected from the recruits lately raised, undisciplined, and new to the service, but preferred by Nero to the veterans, whom he suspected of disaffection. Piso ordered the veins of both his arms to be opened, and expired: his will was a disgrace to his memory. It was written in a strain of fulsome flattery to the prince. He was betrayed into that act of meanness by his affection for his wife, a woman destitute of merit, who had great elegance of form, and nothing else to recommend her. Her name was Arria Galla. She had been married to Domitius Silius, and from him seduced by Piso. The passive spirit of the injured husband, and the wanton character of the wife, conspired to fix an indelible stain on the *name* of Piso.

LX. Victim. Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, was the next victim. He was seized, and dragged to instant death;

no time allowed to take the last farewell of his children, nor even the usual liberty of choosing his own mode of dying. He was hurried to the place of execution usually allotted to slaves, and there despatched by the hand of Statius, a military tribune. He met his fate with a noble and determined silence, not so much as condescending to tax the executioner with his share in the conspiracy.

The next exploit of Nero was the death of Seneca. Against that eminent man no proof of guilt appeared; but the emperor thirsted for his blood, and what poison had not accomplished he was determined to finish by the sword. Natalis was the only person who had mentioned his name. The chief head of his accusation was, 'That he himself had been sent on a visit to Seneca, then confined by illness, with instructions to mention to him that Piso often called at his house, but never could gain admittance, though it was the interest of both to live on terms of mutual friendship.' To this Seneca made answer, 'That private interviews could be of no service to either; but still his happiness was grafted on the safety of Piso.' Granius Silvanus, a tribune of the pretorian guards, was despatched to Seneca, with directions to let him know what was alleged against him, and to inquire whether he admitted the conversation stated by Natalis, with the answers given by himself. Seneca, by design or accident, was that very day on his return from Campania. He stopped at a villa of his own, about four miles from Rome. Towards the close of the day the tribune arrived, and beset the house with a band of soldiers. Seneca was at supper with his wife Pompeia Paulina, and two of his friends, when Silvanus entered the room, and reported the orders of the emperor.

LXI. Seneca did not hesitate to acknowlege that

Natalis had been at his house with a complaint that Piso's visits were not received. His apology, he said, imported no more than want of health, the love of ease, and the necessity of attending to a weak and crazy constitution. 'That he should prefer the interest of a private citizen to his own safety was too absurd to be believed. He had no motives to induce him to pay such a compliment to any man; adulation was no part of his character. This is a truth well known to Nero himself: he can tell you that, on various occasions, he found in Seneca a man who spoke his mind with freedom, and disdained the arts of servile flattery.' Silvanus returned to Rome. He found the prince in company with Poppæa and Tigellinus, who, as often as cruelty was in agitation, formed the cabinet council. In their presence the messenger reported his answer. Nero asked, 'Does Seneca prepare to end his days by a voluntary death?'—'He showed,' said the tribune, 'no symptom of fear, no token of sorrow, no dejected passion: his words and looks bespoke a mind serene, erect, and firm.'—'Return,' said Nero, 'and tell him he must resolve to die.' Silvanus, according to the account of Fabius Rusticus, chose to go back by a different road. He went through a private way to Fenius Rufus, to advise with that officer whether he should execute the emperor's orders. Rufus told him that he must obey. Such was the degenerate spirit of the times. A general panic took possession of every mind. This very Silvanus was one of the conspirators, and yet was base enough to be an instrument of the cruelty which he had combined to revenge. He had, however, the decency to avoid the shock of seeing Seneca, and of delivering *in* person the fatal message. He sent a centurion *to* perform that office for him.

LXII. Seneca heard the message with calm composure. He called for his will, and being deprived of that right of a Roman citizen by the centurion, he turned to his friends, and, 'You see,' he said, 'that I am not at liberty to requite your services with the last marks of my esteem. One thing, however, still remains. I leave you the example of my life, the best and most precious legacy now in my power. Cherish it in your memory, and you will gain at once the applause due to virtue, and the fame of a sincere and generous friendship.' All who were present melted into tears. He endeavored to assuage their sorrows: he offered his advice with mild persuasion; he used the tone of authority. 'Where,' he said, 'are the precepts of philosophy, and where the words of wisdom, which for years have taught us to meet the calamities of life with firmness and a well-prepared spirit? Was the cruelty of Nero unknown to any of us? He murdered his mother; he destroyed his brother; and, after those deeds of horror, what remains to fill the measure of his guilt but the death of his guardian and his tutor?'

LXIII. Having delivered himself in these pathetic terms he directed his attention to his wife. He clasped her in his arms, and in that fond embrace yielded for a while to the tenderness of his nature. Recovering his resolution, he intreated her to appease her grief, and bear in mind that his life was spent in a constant course of honor and of virtue. That consideration would serve to heal affliction, and sweeten all her sorrows. Paulina was still inconsolable. She was determined to die with her husband: she invoked the aid of the executioners, and begged to end her wretched being. Seneca saw that she was animated by the love of *glory, and that generous* principle, he thought,

ought not to be restrained. The idea of leaving a beloved object exposed to the insults of the world, and the malice of her enemies, pierced him to the quick. 'It has been my care,' he said, 'to instruct you in that best philosophy, the art of mitigating the ills of life; but you prefer an honorable death. I will not envy you the vast renown that must attend your fall. Since you will have it so, we will die together. We will leave behind us an example of equal constancy; but the glory will be all your own.'

These words were no sooner uttered than the veins of both their arms were opened. At Seneca's time of life the blood was slow and languid. The decay of nature, and the impoverishing diet to which he had used himself, left him in a feeble condition. He ordered the vessels of his legs and joints to be punctured. After that operation he began to labor with excruciating pains. Lest his sufferings should overpower the constancy of his wife, or the sight of her afflictions prove too much for his own sensibility, he persuaded her to retire into another room. His eloquence still continued to flow with its usual purity. He called for his secretaries, and dictated, while life was ebbing away, that farewell discourse which has been published, and is in every body's hands. I will not injure his last words by giving the substance in another form.

LXIV. Nero had conceived no antipathy to Paulina. If she perished with her husband he began to dread the public execration. That he might not multiply the horrors of his present cruelty, he sent orders to exempt Paulina from the stroke of death. The slaves and freedmen, by the direction of the soldiers, bound *up her arm*, and stopped the effusion of blood. This, *it is said*, was done without her knowlege, as she lay

in a state of languor. The fact however cannot be known with certainty. Vulgar malignity, which is ever ready to detract from exalted virtue, spread a report that, as long as she had reason to think that the rage of Nero was implacable, she had the ambition to share the glory of her husband's fate; but a milder prospect being unexpectedly presented, the charms of life gained admission to her heart, and triumphed over her constancy. She lived a few years longer, in fond regret, to the end of her days revering the memory of her husband. The weakness of her whole frame, and the sickly languor of her countenance, plainly showed that she had been reduced to the last extremity.

Seneca lingered in pain. The approach of death was slow, and he wished for his dissolution. Fatigued with pain, worn out and exhausted, he requested his friend Statius Annæus, whose fidelity and medical skill he had often experienced, to administer a draught of that swift-speeding poison[1] usually given at Athens to the criminals adjudged to death. He swallowed the potion, but without any immediate effect. His limbs were chilled: the vessels of his body were closed, and the ingredients, though keen and subtle, could not arrest the principles of life. He desired to be placed in a warm bath. Being conveyed according to his desire, he sprinkled his slaves with the water, and, 'Thus,' he said, 'I make libation to Jupiter the Deliverer.' The vapor soon overpowered him, and he breathed his last. His body, without any funeral pomp, was committed to the flames. He had given directions for that purpose in his last will, made at a time when he was in the zenith of power, and even then looked forward to the close of his days.

1 *This poison was called cicuta.* Seneca says it made Socrates *a great man; Epist.* xiii.

LXV. A report was at that time current at Rome that Subrius Flavius and several centurions held a private meeting, with the knowlege and consent of Seneca, and there resolved to open a new and unexpected scene. The blow for liberty was to be struck in the name of Piso; and as soon as the world was freed from the tyranny of Nero, Piso was to be the next victim, in order to make way for Seneca; who, for his virtues, was to be raised to the highest elevation, with an air of innocence, and of a man unconscious of the plot. The very words of Flavius were reported among the people. He is supposed to have said, 'What good end will it answer to depose a minstrel, if we place a tragedian in his room?' The fact was, Nero played on his guitar, and Piso trod the stage in the buskin of tragedy.

LXVI. The part which the military men had taken in the conspiracy did not long remain a secret. The double game played by Fenius Rufus, at first a confederate in the plot, and then a judge pronouncing sentence on his accomplices, provoked the indignation of all. In the examination of Scevinus, that officer pressed his interrogatories with over-acted zeal, and by menaces endeavored to extort a confession. Scevinus answered, with a smile, 'No man knows the particulars better than yourself. You may now show your gratitude to so good a prince.' Rufus was covered with confusion. To speak was not in his power, and to remain silent was dangerous. He trembled, faltered, and hesitated an answer. His embarrassment betrayed his guilt. The rest of the conspirators, with Cervarius Proculus, a Roman knight, at their head, were eager to depose against him. At length a soldier *of the name* of Cassius, remarkable for his robust stature, *and* for that reason ordered to attend, laid hold

f Rufus by the emperor's order, and loaded him with rons.

LXVII. The same witnesses gave evidence against ubrius Flavius. In answer to the charge he relied uch on his course of life, and the dissimilitude of anners between himself and his accusers. 'Was it robable that a soldier, inured to the profession of rms, would associate with an effeminate set of men, trangers to danger and to manly enterprise?' Find- ng himself pressed by the weight of evidence, he hanged his tone, and with heroic fortitude avowed he part he had acted. Being asked by Nero, what ould induce him to forget the solemn obligation of is oath? 'Because,' he said, 'I hated, I detested ou. There was a time when no soldier in your army vas more devoted to your service, and that was as ong as you deserved the esteem of mankind. I began o hate you when you were guilty of parricide; when ou murdered your mother, and destroyed your wife; when you became a coachman, a comedian, and an ncendiary.' I have given the very words of this in- repid conspirator, because they were not, like those f Seneca, published to the world: and the rough sen- iments of a soldier, in his own plain but vigorous anguage, merit the attention of posterity.

In the whole discovery of the plot nothing made so leep an impression on the mind of Nero. Though his eart never knew remorse for the worst of crimes, his ear, unaccustomed to the voice of truth, shrunk from he sound of freedom, and startled at reproach. Fla- ius was ordered for execution. Veianus Niger, one f the tribunes, led him to the next field, and there irected a trench to be opened. The prisoner sur- eyed the spot, and finding it neither wide nor deep nough, *turned with a smile* to the soldiers, and,

'This,' he said, 'shows no military skill.' Niger desired him to extend his neck with courage. 'Strike,' said Flavius, 'and prove your courage equal to mine!' The tribune was seized with a tremor in every joint. He severed the head at two blows, and made a merit of it with Nero, giving the name of cruelty to his want of firmness. He made it his boast that, by repeating the stroke, he made him die twice.

LXVIII. Sulpicius Asper, the centurion, gave the next example of magnanimity. Being asked by Nero why he conspired against his life? he answered shortly, 'I knew no other relief from your flagitious deeds.' He was instantly put to death. The rest of the centurions underwent their fate, and all died worthy of their characters. Fenius Rufus had not equal constancy. He betrayed an abject spirit, and even in his will was weak enough to bewail his unhappy fate. Nero lived in hopes of seeing Vestinus, the consul, charged as a criminal. He knew the character of the man; an intrepid daring spirit, ambitious, and suspected of disaffection. The conspirators, however, had no communication of counsels with that active magistrate. Some declined him on account of former animosities, and others because they thought him rash and impetuous. Nero's rancor grew out of a close and intimate friendship. In that familiar intercourse Vestinus saw into the very heart of the prince, and despised him for his vices. Nero shrunk from a man who had the spirit to speak his mind with freedom, and, in his sarcastic vein, had often made the prince the subject of his raillery; and raillery, when seasoned with truth, never fails to leave a sting that festers in the memory. A recent incident gave an edge to Nero's resentment. Vestinus married Statilia Messalina, though he knew that the prince was one of her lovers.

XIX. No witness appeared against Vestinus; no
e was laid to his charge; and by consequence
oceeding could be had in due form of law. But
rill of the tyrant still remained. He sent Gere-
l, one of the tribunes, at the head of a cohort,
orders so to take his measures, that the consul
t not be able to stand on the defensive, and for
purpose to invest his house, which, like a proud
el, overlooked the forum, and contained a nume-
train of young and hardy slaves, in the nature of
rrison. Vestinus had that very day discharged
he functions of his consular office. He was at
with his friends, free from apprehension, or, it
be, affecting an air of gaiety, when the soldiers
ed, and informed him that the tribune had im-
ınt business with him. He rose and left the room.
scene of death was instantly laid. He was shut
ı a chamber: a physician attended; his veins were
ed; he was conducted to a warm bath, and, being
into the water, expired without a complaint, and
out a groan. His guests, in the mean time, re-
ıed in the banqueting room, imprisoned by the
ds. It was late at night before they were released.
) heard the account with pleasure. He saw, in
port of his imagination, a set of men assembled at
nvivial party, and every moment expecting their
doom. He laughed at their distress, and said
liously, 'They have paid for their consular supper.'

XX. Lucan, the famous poet, was the next sacri-
to the vengeance of Nero. His blood flowed freely
ı him; and being soon well-nigh exhausted, he
eived that the vital heat had left the extremities of
limbs. His hands and feet were chilled; but the
nth retiring to his heart, he still retained his senses
the vigor of his mind. The lines in his poem

which describe a soldier dying in the same condition[1] occurred to his memory. He repeated the passage and expired. His own verses were the last words he uttered. Senecio, Quintianus, and Scevinus, suffered in a short time after. The dissolute softness of their lives did not disgrace them in their end. They met their fate with resolution. The rest of the conspirators were led to execution. In their deaths there was nothing that merits particular notice.

LXXI. While the city presented a scene of blood, and funerals darkened all the streets, the altars of the capitol smoked with the victims slaughtered on the occasion. One had lost a son; another was deprived of his brother, his friend, or his near relation; and yet, stifling every sentiment of the heart, all concurred in offering thanks to the gods: they adorned the prince's house with laurel;[2] they fell at the tyrant's feet; they clasped his knees, and printed kisses on his hand. Nero received this vile adulation as the token of real joy. In order to make sure of the people, he showed his clemency to Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus, whose merit consisted altogether in their treachery to their friends. To Milichus he granted a rich and ample recompense, and moreover added the honorable appellation of a Greek name, importing the conservator. Granius Silvanus, one of the tribunes engaged in the conspiracy, received a free pardon; but disdaining to enjoy it, he died by his own hand. Statius Proximus had the vanity to follow his example. Pompeius, Cor-

1 The commentators point out different passages in the Pharsalia, but all depend on mere conjecture. Lipsius thinks the description of Lycidas, at the point of death, most probable.

2 Laurel is called by Pliny the elder the doorkeeper of *the Cæsars*; xv. 30.

ıs Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius, e all degraded from their tribunitian rank, not as condemned, but suspected of disaffection. Novius ıcus, Glitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio, were or-ɔd into exile; the first on account of his known in-ıcy with Seneca; and the two last to disgrace n, though not convicted of any crime. Antonia cilla, the wife of Novius Priscus, followed her band into banishment. Egnatia Maximilla, at that e possessed of great wealth, had the spirit in like ıner to adhere to Glitius Gallus. Her fortune was n after taken from her by the hand of power. Her duct, both in affluence and poverty, did honor to character.

Rufus Crispinus was likewise banished. The conspi-y furnished a pretext; but his having been married Poppæa was the crime that brought on his ruin. rginius[1] and Musonius Rufus[2] owed their banish-nt to the celebrity of their names: the former ined the Roman youth to eloquence, and the latter med their minds by his lectures on wisdom and phi-ophy. At one sweep Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius rippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priscus, and lius Altinus, like a colony of criminals, were sent islands in the Ægean sea. Cadicia, the wife of Sce-ıus, and Cæsonius Maximus, were ordered out of ıly, without being heard in their defence. The sen-ıce of condemnation was the first notice of any crime leged against them. Acilia, the mother of Lucan, ıs neither pardoned nor condemned. She was suf-red to live in silent obscurity.

1 Verginius was a rhetorician, and the preceptor of Per-us the satirist, as may be seen in the life of Persius.
2 Musonius Rufus *was a teacher* of philosophy. See An-ls, *xiv. 59.*

LXXII. Having performed these dreadful exploits Nero called an assembly of the soldiers, and after a specious harangue, ordered a largess of a thousand sesterces to be paid to each man, and the corn which they had been used to purchase at the market price to be distributed as the bounty of the prince. He then ordered the senate to be convened, with as much importance as if the events of war and splendid victories occasioned the meeting. He granted triumphal ornaments to Petronius Turpilianus,[1] of consular rank, to Cocceius Nerva,[2] pretor elect, and Tigellinus, commander of the pretorian guards. The two last were mentioned by him in strains of the highest commendation. Not content with erecting their statues in the forum, adorned with triumphal decorations, he placed them also in the imperial palace. Nymphidius[3] was honored with the ensigns of consular dignity. Of this man, who now occurs for the first time, since he is to figure hereafter on the stage of public business, it may be proper in this place to say a few words.

He was the son of an enfranchised female slave, distinguished by her beauty, and the ease with which she granted her favors to the slaves as well as to the freedmen about the court. Nymphidius, however, pretended to be of higher origin. He called himself the son of Caligula. His large stature, and the stern cast of his countenance, bore some resemblance to that emperor; and, in fact, as Caligula was never delicate in the choice of his mistresses, but was known to share the embraces of common women, it is possible that he

1 Petronius Turpilianus was consul, as mentioned, xiv. 29.

2 Cocceius Nerva, afterwards emperor.

3 For Nymphidius, see Appendix to Annals, xvi. 13; and see History, i. 5.

t on some occasion indulge his passion with the
er of Nymphidius.

XIII. The senate being assembled, Nero de-
ed a speech on the subject of the late transactions,
for the information of the people, issued a procla-
on, with a statement of the evidence against the
irators, and their own confession. The clamors
e public made this expedient necessary. While
executions were going on the public voice was
and violent against Nero, the insatiate tyrant,
was daily sacrificing to his cruelty, or his fears,
ves of innocent and illustrious men. That a plot
ctually formed; that it was conducted with reso-
n, and in the end was totally defeated, no man
made it his business to investigate the truth enter-
d a doubt at the time; and, since the death of
, the acknowlegement of all who returned from
hment established the fact beyond a controversy.
was received by the senate with the basest flat-

In that assembly the men who had the greatest
n to be overwhelmed with grief were the most
ard to offer incense to the emperor. Junius Gal-
the brother of Seneca, was, by the loss of that ex-
nt man, so struck with terror, that to save his own
ne descended to humble supplications. Salienus
ens rose to oppose him, as a parricide and an
y to the state. He continued his invective till
thers checked his violence. It was not now, they
a time to gratify personal animosity, under an
arance of zeal for the public good; nor would it
ne any man to open again the wounds which the
ency of the prince had closed for ever.

eneca *the philosopher* had two brothers; namely, An-
Mela, the father of Lucan, and Annæus Novatus, who
erwards adopted by Gallio, and took that name. For
h of Mela see Annals, xvi. 17.

LXXIV. Oblations and public thanksgivin decreed to all the gods, and particularly to t in whose temple, situated in the forum, the was to have been perpetrated, if that god had pelled the clouds that hung over the machina evil-minded men, and brought their dark proc into open daylight. It was farther ordered, sports of the circus, in honor of Ceres, should brated with an additional number of chariot that the month of April[1] should be styled a name of Nero; and that on the spot where S furnished himself with a dagger a temple sh erected to the goddess of safety. The dagge was dedicated in the capitol, with an inscriptio avenging god, called Jupiter Vindex. The ins at that time had no equivocal meaning; b after, when Julius Vindex excited a revolt i it was considered as an omen of impendin geance.

In the journals of the senate I find an en which it appears that Cerealis Anicius, consu moved in his place, that a temple should be r the public expense, to the deified Nero, who, opinion, had risen above the condition of hun ture, and was therefore intitled to religious w This motion was afterwards understood to port thing less than the death of Nero; since it was a rule that divine honors should never be paid emperor till he ceased to be mortal.[2]

1 The month of April was called Neronius, May C and June Germanicus; Annals, xvi. 12.

2 Augustus was deified by the poets, and in the pr *but no* altars were erected at Rome during his life.

BOOK XVI.

CT. I. NERO, in consequence of his own credulity, ame in a short time afterward the sport of fortune, l a subject of public derision. He believed the ionary schemes of Cesellius Bassus, a native of rthage, of a crazed imagination, who relied on whatr occurred to him in his distempered dreams. This n arrived at Rome, and, by the influence of money l applied, gained admission to the presence of the peror. The secret which he had to communicate s, that on his own estate he had found a cavern of onishing depth, in which were contained immense res of gold, not wrought into the form of coin, but rude and shapeless ingots, such as were in use in early ages of the world. In one part of the cave re to be seen vast massy heaps, and in other places umns of gold towering to a prodigious height; the ole, an immense treasure, reserved in obscurity to l to the splendor of Nero's reign. To give probaty to his story, he pretended that Dido, the Phœian,[1] when she fled from Tyre, and founded the city Carthage, deposited her whole stock in the bowels he earth, that so much wealth might neither prove bane of a new colony, nor excite the avarice of the midian princes,[2] of themselves already hostile to infant state.

The account of Dido's flight from Tyre with the treasures er husband Sichæus, to avoid the fury of Pygmalion, who basely murdered his brother for the sake of his riches, is ly given by *Virgil, Æneid, i. 347.*

The kings of Numidia, and the African princes in the

II. Nero neither weighed the character of the man, nor the circumstances of so wild a report. He had not even the precaution to send commissioners to inform themselves on the spot. He helped to spread the report; he began to count his riches, and despatched his agents to transport the treasure to Rome. The light galleys were equipped with expedition, and a chosen band of mariners sent on board. Rome, in the mean time, was distracted with hope and fear, with doubt and expectation. No other subject was talked of. The common people, with their usual facility, believed every thing; while men of reflection argued in a different manner. It happened that the quinquennial games were to close the second lustre of five years. During that festival the expected treasure was the subject on which the orators expatiated, and the poets exhausted their invention. In their flights of fancy, the earth was no longer content with pouring forth fruit and grain, and producing metals intermixed with veins of precious ore; the present fecundity showed that the gods were working miracles to bless the reign of Nero. These were the bright conceits which flattery displayed with rapture, and eloquence adorned with her richest coloring. While the passions of Nero stood ready to receive every new device, fiction passed for truth, and nothing was too hyperbolical for the credulity of the prince.

III. With such immoderate riches in view, no wonder that Nero launched out into greater profusion than ever. Deluded by his hopes, and sure of a supply for years to come, he exhausted his treasury,[1] and began

neighborhood of Carthage, were enemies to the infant state *founded by Dido.*

1 Suetonius relates the whole of this impostor's deception, *and the chimerical* projects of Nero in consequence of it.

ipate his imaginary funds. He made assign-
on the property, and granted with generosity
as not in his possession. The expectation of
us wealth made him the bubble of a madman,
overished the public. In the mean time Bassus,
id projector, arrived at Carthage. In the pre-
f a number of soldiers, and a large body of
s employed as laborers, he dug up his grounds,
le his experiment in the adjacent fields, disap-
in one place, sure of success in another, still
it, and still miscarrying; till at length, finding
erraneous cave, and weary of the fruitless
he abandoned his chimerical hopes, coming
ly to his senses, yet wondering that, of all his
the last should be the only one that deceived
overed with shame, and dreading the resent-
the emperor, he delivered himself from all his
s by a voluntary death. According to some
he was instantly seized and loaded with irons,
o ordered him to be released; but seized his
determined to enjoy the fortunes of a wild ad-
r, since he could not obtain the wealth of Dido.
The time of contending for the prizes in the
nnial games being near at hand, the senate,
tent to ward off from the emperor [1] the disgrace

) did not scruple to appear on the stage amongst
rformers, even in the spectacles presented by the
tes. He sung tragedies masked, the vizors of the
l goddesses being formed into a resemblance of his
. Among the rest, he acted, Canace in Labor,
the Murderer of his Mother, Œdipus blinded, and
mad. In the last tragedy a soldier, at his post in
re, seeing the emperor bound with chains as the
uired, ran to his assistance; Suet. in Neron. § 21.
the same, § 22, 23, 24. This ridiculous display of
eneath the dignity of a prince, is well described by
his play of Britannicus, which was performed be-

of being a candidate, offered to adjudge in h
the victory in song, and the crown of eloquen
fathers hoped that honors freely granted woul
the prince, and prevent a ridiculous display of
cal talents. Nero returned for answer that
in no need of favor or protection. He depe
himself alone, and would fairly enter the list
competitors. The equity of the judges was t
and by that test he was willing to stand or fall
that spirit he entered the scene, and recited a
his own composition. The people with earnest
prayed that he would let them taste the supr
light of hearing and enjoying all his divine acc
ments. Such was the language of the popul
compliance with their wishes he mounted th
stage, conforming in all things to the rule
orchestra, where no performer was to sit dow
wipe the sweat from his face with any thing
own garment, and never to spit or clear his n
sight of the audience. Having exhibited his
went down on his knee, and stretching forth h
with pretended agitations of hope and fear, w
that humble posture for the decision of the
The populace, accustomed to applaud the n
gesticulations of the common players, paid thei
of admiration to the prince, with measured ca
one regular chorus of applause. You wou
thought their joy sincere; and perhaps it w
fact: the rabble wished to be diverted at any
for the disgrace that befell the state vulgar m
no concern.

fore Louis XIV., who had before that time mix
dance on the public stage. The picture of Nero's f
the monarch see himself, and from that time he
never to degrade the royal character.

V. Thinking men were affected in a very different manner. All who came from the municipal towns, or the more remote parts of Italy, where some tincture of ancient manners still remained; and a considerable number, besides, who arrived from the provinces on public business, or their own private affairs, as yet strangers to vice, and undebauched by luxury, beheld the scene with heaviness of heart. A spectacle, in which the prince exposed his frivolous talents, gave them the highest disgust. They thought the applause dishonest, but they were obliged to concur with the rest. They acted their part with warm but awkward zeal. Their unpractised hands were easily tired: they were not able to keep time in the grand concert, and exerting themselves without skill, they disturbed the general harmony. For every blunder they were chastised by the soldiers, who were stationed at their posts with orders to take care that the applause should be kept up with spirit, without an interval of rest or silence. It is a certain fact that several Roman knights endeavoring to make their way through the crowd, were crushed to death in the narrow passes; and that others, who kept their seats in the theatre day and night, fell dangerously ill. The dread of being absent from such a performance was more alarming than the worst sickness that could happen. Besides the soldiers stationed in the theatre to superintend the audience, it is well known that a number of spies lay in ambush, to take down the names of the spectators, to watch their countenances, and note every symptom of disgust or pleasure. Offenders of mean condition were punished on the spot. Men of distinction were overlooked with an air of calm neglect, but resentment *was only* smothered for a time, to *break out afterwards with* deadly hate. We are told

that Vespasian, for the crime of being ready to fall asleep, was obliged to endure the insulting language of one Phœbus, an imperial freedman, and was saved from harsher treatment by the intercession of men of rank and influence. The offence however was not intirely forgotten; it remained in store for future vengeance; but Vespasian was reserved by his superior destiny for the highest elevation.

VI. The public games were followed by the death of Poppæa.[1] She died of a kick on her womb, which Nero gave her in a sudden passion, though she was then advanced in her pregnancy. Some writers will have it that she was carried off by a dose of poison; but they assert it with more spleen than truth. Nero was desirous of having issue, and he loved his wife with sincere affection. Her body was not, according to the Roman custom,[2] committed to the funeral pile, but,

1 Suetonius says he married Poppæa twelve days after his divorce from Octavia, and, notwithstanding the vehemence of his love, killed her with a kick when she was pregnant, only because she took the liberty to chide him for returning late from the chariot race. He had by her a daughter, called Claudia Augusta, who died in her infancy; Suet. in Neron. § 35.

2 The first Romans did not burn their dead, but interred them, according to the custom of other nations. Pliny the elder says that the practice of committing the dead to the funeral pile was not introduced till it was known that the bodies of soldiers, who died in foreign wars, were dug up by the enemy, and exposed to public view. And yet Plutarch, in his life of Numa, observes that Numa was buried, pursuant to his own express injunction, directing that his body should not be committed to the flames; which shows that burning was known at Rome in that early period. The custom of burning the dead was held in abhorrence by several nations, and, according to Herodotus, by the Persians as well as the Egyptians. Notwithstanding what Plutarch has said, Pliny assures us that, before Sylla the dictator, the bodies of the deceased were always interred by the Romans, and that the reason for burning that extraordinary man was, because,

ter the manner of the eastern kings, embalmed with ecious spices,[1] and deposited in the monument of the lian family. The ceremony was performed with great mp, and Nero pronounced the funeral oration. He is lavish in praise of her beauty; and the peculiar ppiness of being the mother of an infant enrolled ong the gods was a topic on which he dwelt with easure. By enlarging on that and other accidental cumstances, he made a panegyric, in which not one rtue could find a place.

VII. The death of Poppæa occasioned a general face mourning, but no real grief. Men remembered her ose incontinence, and, having felt her cruelty, re- iced in secret at an event that freed the world of a man of a detested character. Nero labored under a ad of reproach; and the public resentment rose still gher when it was known that, by his orders, Cassius d not attend the funeral. That illustrious Roman derstood the imperial mandate as the signal of his proaching ruin. In fact, his doom was fixed in a ort time after, and Silanus was devoted with him. e crime of Cassius[2] was the splendid fortune which inherited from his ancestors, and the austerity of s manners. Silanus offended by the nobility of his th, and his modest merit. Nero sent a letter to the

ving dug up the body of Marius, he was afraid of being ated in the same way himself, and therefore ordered his nains to be consumed to ashes; Pliny, vii. 54. The cus- n of burning at Rome ceased under the Antonines.

1 Besides the spices with which the body of Poppæa was balmed, a prodigious quantity was burnt on the occasion, omuch that Pliny says all Arabia did not produce in an in- e year as much as was consumed at the funeral of Poppæa.

2 The name of this person was Cassius Longinus, a lawyer advanced in years, and blind. His crime, according to etonius, was, *that among the* busts of his ancestors he kept *it of the famous Cassius who* stabbed Julius Cæsar.

senate, stating in strong terms the necessity moving them both from all civil offices. To Ca objected, that, among the images of his ance preserved, with great veneration, the picture famous Caius Cassius, with this inscription Leader of the Party.' That circumstance showed the sullen spirit of a man brooding n a fierce republican, who meditated another ci and a revolt from the house of Cæsar. But t the name of a daring factious chief was not s for the purposes of a turbulent incendiary: charged with seducing Lucius Silanus, a yc scended from an illustrious line, bold, ambitiou prising, and, in the hands of ill-designing n tool to spread the flame of rebellion.

VIII. Silanus[1] was no less an object of hatred. It was urged against him, as had b merly done in the case of his uncle Torquat he affected the style of imperial dignity, anc his household train his mock treasurers, his au accounts, and his secretaries of state. Nothi be more destitute of all foundation. Silanus tyranny of those disastrous times, and from th his uncle received a lesson of prudence. Lep wife of Cassius, and aunt of Silanus, was also to fall a sacrifice to the unrelenting fury of th Informers were suborned to accuse her of inc her nephew; and, to swell the charge, they im her impious sacrifices, magic rites, and hor cantations. Vulcatius Tullinus, and Marcell nelius, of senatorian rank, with Calpurnius a Roman knight, were involved in the pro They appealed to the tribunal of the empe

1 *Lucius* Silanus was son to Marcus Junius Sila *was great*-grandson to Augustus.

by removing the cause prevented a final sentence. Nero was, at that time, brooding over crimes of the deepest dye, and having nobler game in view, he disdained to stoop to an inferior quarry. The three last were saved by their want of importance.

IX. Cassius and Silanus were banished by a decree of the senate. The case of Lepida was referred to the prince. Cassius, in a short time after, was transported to the island of Sardinia, where Nero was content to leave him to old age and the decay of nature. Silanus was conveyed to Ostia, there, as was pretended, to embark for the isle of Naxos. He never reached that place. Barium, a municipal city of Apulia, was the last stage of his journey. He there supported life with a temper that gave dignity to undeserved misfortune, till a centurion, employed to commit the murder, rushed on him abruptly. That officer advised him to open his veins. 'Death,' said Silanus, 'has been familiar to my thoughts, but the honor of prescribing to me I shall not allow to a ruffian and a murderer.' The centurion, seeing that he had to do with a man, unarmed indeed, but robust and vigorous, not a symptom of fear in his countenance, but on the contrary an eye that sparkled with indignation, gave orders to his soldiers to seize their prisoner. Silanus stood on the defensive: what man could do without a weapon he bravely dared, struggling, and dealing his blows about him, till he fell by the sword of the centurion, like a gallant officer, receiving honorable wounds, and facing his enemy to the last.

X. Lucius Vetus, and Sextia his mother-in-law, with Pollutia his daughter, died with equal fortitude. Nero thought them a living reproach to himself for *the murder of Rubellius* Plautus, the son-in-law of

Lucius Vetus. The root of bitterness rankled in Nero's heart, till Fortunatus, one of the manumitted slaves of Vetus, gave him an opportunity to wreak his vengeance on the whole family. The freedman had been employed by Vetus in the management of his affairs, and having defrauded his master, he thought it time to add treachery to peculation, and gave evidence against his patron. In this black design he associated with himself one Claudius Demianus, a fellow of an abandoned character, who had been charged in Asia, while Vetus was proconsul of the province, with various crimes, and sent to Rome in fetters. To forward this prosecution Nero set him at liberty.

Vetus heard with indignation that the evidence of a freedman was received against the life of his patron, and retired to his country seat in the neighborhood of Formiæ. A band of soldiers followed him, and beset his house. His daughter was then with him. A sense of former injuries was still fresh in her mind. She had seen her husband, Rubellius Plautus, massacred by a band of ruffians. On that occasion she opposed her person to the assassin's stroke: she clung to her husband's bleeding neck, and preserved the garment stained with his blood. From that time nothing could assuage her sorrows: she remained a widow, a prey to grief, inconsolable, loathing all food, except what was necessary for the support of nature. In the present distress, by her father's advice, she set off for Naples, where Nero then resided. Not being admitted to his presence, she watched the palace gates, and as soon as he came forth she cried aloud, 'Hear my father, hear an innocent man: he was your colleague in the consulship: extend your mercy, nor let him fall a sacrifice to the pernicious arts of a vile abandoned slave.' She persisted, as often as Nero passed, to renew her

application, sometimes in tears and misery of heart; often in a tone of vehemence, roused by her sufferings above the weakness of her sex. But neither tears nor reproaches had any effect on the cruelty of Nero: insensible to both, and heedless to the popular hatred, he remained obdurate and implacable.

XI. Pollutia returned to her father, and since not a ray of hope was left, exhorted him to meet his fate with becoming spirit. Intelligence arrived at the same time that preparations for the trial were going on with rapidity, and that the senate showed a disposition to pronounce the severest sentence. Among the friends of Cassius some were of opinion that the surest way to secure part of his fortune for his grandchildren would be by making the emperor heir in chief. He rejected that advice as unworthy of his character. Having lived his days with a spirit of independence, he resolved to die with honor. He distributed the money then in his possession among his slaves, and ordered them to remove for their own use all the effects that could be carried off, with the exception of three couches to serve as funeral beds for himself and his family.

They retired to die together. In the same chamber, and with the same instrument, the father, the mother-in-law, and the daughter, opened their veins, and without any other covering than such as decency required, were conducted to a warm bath; the father with his eyes fixed on his daughter; the grandmother gazing on the same object; and she, in return, looking with tender affection on both her parents; each of them wishing to avoid the pain of seeing the others in the pangs of death, and praying to be released. Nature pursued her own course. They died in *order of their respective* ages, the oldest first.

After their decease a prosecution was carried on in due form of law, and all three were adjudged to capital punishment. Nero so far opposed the sentence as to give them the liberty of choosing their mode of dying. When the tragedy was already performed such was the farce that followed.

XII. Publius Gallus, a Roman knight, for no other crime than his intimacy with Fenius Rufus, and some connexion with Vetus, was interdicted from fire and water. The freedman of Vetus, who betrayed his master, and the accuser, who undertook the conduct of the prosecution, obtained, to reward their villany, a seat in the theatre among the officers who follow in the train of the tribunes. The month of April was already styled by the name of Nero, and, in like manner, May was changed to that of Claudius, and June to Germanicus. Cornelius Orfitus was the author of this innovation. His reason for the last was, because the two Torquati suffered in the month of June, and that inauspicious name ought therefore to be abolished from the calendar.

XIII. To the blood and horror that made this year for ever memorable we may add the vengeance of Heaven, declared in storms and tempests, and epidemic disorders. A violent hurricane made the country of Campania a scene of desolation; whole villages were overthrown; plantations were torn up by the roots, and the hopes of the year destroyed. The fury of the storm was felt in the neighborhood of Rome, where, without any apparent cause in the atmosphere, a contagious distemper broke out, and swept away a vast number of the inhabitants. The houses were filled with dead bodies, and the streets with funeral *processions*. Neither sex nor age escaped. Slaves *and men* of ingenuous birth were carried off, without

inction, amidst the shrieks and lamentations of ir wives and children. Numbers, while they as-ed their expiring friends, or bewailed their loss, re suddenly seized, and burnt on the same funeral e. The Roman knights and senators suffered the mmon lot of mortality; but death delivered them m the power of the tyrant, and for that reason y were not regretted.

n the course of the year new levies were made in rbon Gaul, and likewise in Asia and Africa, in ler to recruit the legions in Illyricum, at that time ich reduced by the discharge of such as by age or irmity were rendered unfit for service. The city of ons having before this time suffered a dreadful dis-er,[1] Nero, to relieve the inhabitants, ordered a re-ttance of forty thousand sesterces, being the amount what that city granted[2] to the treasury of Rome a period of distraction and public distress.

XIV. Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus entered the consulship. During their administration An-tius Sosianus, formerly banished,[3] as has been ntioned, for a satirical poem against Nero, began think of regaining his liberty. He heard of the gh estimation in which informers were held at Rome, d the bias of Nero's nature to acts of cruelty. A ld and restless spirit like his was ready for any oject, and he possessed a promptitude of mind that ickly saw how to seize his opportunity. There was that time an exile in the same place, famous for his

1 This was a dreadful fire, by which in one night Lugdu-m (now the city of Lyons) was reduced to ashes.

2 The time when the people of Lyons granted a supply to Romans cannot be ascertained. It was probably in the gn of Caligula.

3 *Antistius Sosianus* was banished on account of his satiri-l verses, *A. U. C. 815.*

skill in the arts of Chaldean astrology, and on that account intimate with several families. His name was Pammenes. Antistius entered into a league of friendship with him. Their mutual sufferings endeared them to each other. The astrologer had frequent consultations, and messengers were every day crowding to his house. Antistius judged that such a concourse could not be without reasons of important consequence. He found that Pammenes received an annual pension from Anteius; a man, on account of his attachment to Agrippina, obnoxious to the emperor, and by his riches likely to tempt the avarice of a prince who had already cut off some of the most opulent and illustrious men in Rome.

Antistius kept a watchful eye on his new friend. He intercepted letters from Anteius, and gained access to other secret papers, in which was contained a calculation of the nativity of Anteius, with many particulars relating to the birth and future fortune of Ostorius Scapula.[1] Armed with these materials, he represented, by letters to Nero, that he had discoveries of the first importance, involving even the safety of the prince, and if he might revisit Rome for a few days, the whole should be brought to light, with all the machinations of Anteius and Ostorius Scapula, who beyond all doubt were engaged in treasonable design, and had been prying into their own destiny and that of the imperial house. In consequence of these letters a light galley was despatched, and Antistius was conveyed to Rome. His arrival, and the business on which he came, were no sooner known than Anteius and Ostorius were considered as devoted victims; insomuch, that the former could not find a friend bold

1 *For* Ostorius Scapula, see Annals, xii. 31; xiv. 48. He *had* commanded in Britain with great reputation.

to be a witness to his will,[1] till Tigellinus ad-
im to settle his affairs without loss of time.
swallowed a dose of poison; but finding the
ın slow and tedious, he opened his veins and
ɔriod to his existence.

Ostorius at this time was at a distance from
amusing himself on his own estate near the
of Liguria. A centurion was sent with orders
ıtch him. Nero had his reasons for desiring
ɜiness to be done with expedition. He knew
tary character of Ostorius, and the high repu-
ɣith which he had gained the civic crown in
He dreaded a man renowned in arms, re-
le for his bodily vigor, and a thorough master
rt of war. From a general of his experience
in fear of a sudden attack, and the late con-
kept him in a constant alarm. The centurion
his orders, and having first secured all the
ı round the house, communicated the emperor's
Ostorius turned against himself that courage
ıad often made the enemy fly before him. He
his veins; but, though the incision was large,
ɔd flowed with languor. He called a slave to
istance, and having directed him to hold a
with a firm and steady hand, he laid hold of
n's arm, and applying his throat to the point,
on certain death.

. If the narrative in which I am engaged pre-
ɜ detail of foreign wars, and a register of men
ɜd with honor in the service of their country,
ı that case a continued train of disasters,
ıg fast on one another, would fatigue the writer,
ke the reader turn with disgust from so many

[1] *ive validity to a will* seven witnesses were neces-

tragic issues, honorable indeed, but dark, mela
and too much of a color. How much more u
uniformity of the present subject be found i
and even repulsive! We have nothing befor
tame servility, and a deluge of blood spilt by
in the hour of peace. The heart recoils fr
dismal story. But let it be remembered b
who may hereafter think these events worthy
notice, that I have discharged the duty of an hi
and if, in relating the fate of so many eminent
who resigned their lives to the will of one
mingle tears with indignation, let me be all
feel for the unhappy. The truth is, the wrath
ven was bent against the Roman state. The ca
that followed cannot, like the slaughter of a
or the sacking of a city, be painted forth in
neral draught. Repeated murders must be
succession; and if the remains of illustrious
distinguished by their funeral obsequies from t
of the people, may it not be considered as a
due to their memory, that in like manner thei
should be snatched from oblivion, and that his
describing the last act of their lives, should
each his distinct and proper character, for th
mation of posterity?

XVII. I proceed to add to the list of murde
zens Annæus Mela, Cerealis Anicius, Rufius
nus, and Petronius. In the compass of a f
they were all cut off, as it were at one blow
and Crispinus were no higher than Roman k
but in fame and dignity of character equal to t
distinguished senators. Crispinus at one tin
manded the pretorian bands; he was afterw
vested with the consular ornaments, but lately
as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and ba

the island of Sardinia. At that place he received the emperor's mandate, and died by his own hand. Mela was brother to Seneca and Gallio. He abstained through life from the pursuit of civil honors, vainly flattering himself that a simple knight could rise to the highest splendor, and tower above the consular dignity. By remaining in his rank he was qualified to act in the administration of the imperial revenue, and that employment he thought the shortest road to immoderate riches. He was the father of Lucan the poet, and from such a son[1] derived additional lustre. When Lucan was no more, Mela endeavored to recover the whole of his property;[2] but proceeding with too much eagerness, he provoked the enmity of Fabius Romanus, one of the poet's intimate friends. This man framed a charge against the father. He accused him of being engaged with his son in the late conspiracy, and for that purpose forged several letters in the name of Lucan.

Nero was eager to seize his prey: he panted for his riches, and with that view sent the letters as evidence of his guilt. Mela had recourse to the mode of death at that time deemed the easiest, and for that reason most in vogue. He opened his veins and expired. By his will he bequeathed a large sum to Tigellinus,

1 Brotier exclaims in this place, 'Let the detractors from the merit of Lucan hear what Tacitus says of him, and let them blush for their malignity. That a young poet, who ended his career in the twenty-seventh year of his age, should aim in many passages of his work at ambitious ornaments, and the false glitter which the example of his uncle Seneca and the taste of the age encouraged, cannot be matter of wonder; but, to atone for his faults, his poem is a treasure of sentiments worthy of a Roman. Lucan taught Corneille to think, and to express his thoughts with force and dignity.

2 Juvenal gives us to understand that Lucan was possessed of great *riches, and might therefore* seek no reward but fame.

and to his son-in-law, Cossutianus Capito, hoping by that bequest to secure the remainder for his family. A clause, it has been said, was added to the will, asserting the innocence of the deceased, and the flagrant injustice of cutting him off, while such men as Rufus Crispinus and Anicius Cerealis were suffered to live in security, though they were both envenomed enemies of the prince. The clause however was thought to be fabricated, with a view to justify the murder of Crispinus, which was already perpetrated, and to hasten the sentence then in agitation against Cerealis, who in a few days afterwards despatched himself. He fell unlamented. The public remembered that he formerly discovered a conspiracy[1] to Caligula, and for that reason no man regretted him in his end.

XVIII. With regard to Caius Petronius,[2] his character, his course of life, and the singularity of his manners, seem to merit particular attention. He passed his days in sleep, and his nights in business, or in joy and revelry. Indolence was at once his passion and his road to fame. What others did by vigor and industry, he accomplished by his love of pleasure and luxurious ease. Unlike the men who profess to understand social enjoyment, and ruin their

1 The plot to which Tacitus refers is not related with perspicuity by any historian. All that is now known is, that Cerealis was the informer, and that Sextus Passienus, the chief of the conspiracy, with several men of rank, was put to death by order of Caligula.

2 This is the writer whom Pope has celebrated in the Essay on Criticism:

> Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,
> The scholar's learning, with the courtier's ease.

The account here given of him by Tacitus is elegant and *interesting*. See Plutarch on the Difference between a Friend *and a* Sycophant; and see Pliny, xxxvii. 7.

rtunes, he led a life of expense without profusion; a epicure, yet not a prodigal; addicted to his appe-tes, but with taste and judgment; a refined and egant voluptuary. Gay and airy in his conversation, charmed by a certain graceful negligence, the more gaging as it flowed from the natural frankness of s disposition. With all his delicacy and careless se, he showed, when he was governor of Bithynia, d afterwards in the year of his consulship, that gor of mind and softness of manners may well unite the same person. With his love of sensuality he ssessed talents for business. From his public sta-n he returned to his usual gratifications, fond of ce, or of pleasures that bordered on it. His gaiety commended him to the notice of the prince. Being favor at court, and cherished as the companion of ero in all his select parties, he was allowed to be the biter of taste and elegance. Without the sanction Petronius nothing was exquisite, nothing rare or licious.

Hence the jealousy of Tigellinus, who dreaded a val in the good graces of the emperor almost his ual; in the science of luxury his superior. Tigel-ius determined to work his downfal; and accord-gly addressed himself to the cruelty of the prince; at master-passion, to which all other affections and ery motive were sure to give way. He charged etronius with having lived in close intimacy with evinus,[1] the conspirator; and to give color to that sertion, he bribed a slave to turn informer against s master. The rest of the domestics were loaded ith irons. Nor was Petronius suffered to make his fence.

1 This was Scevinus the conspirator, for whom see Annals, .49. 54. 56.

XIX. Nero at that time happened to b
his excursions into Campania. Petroniu
lowed him as far as Cuma, but was not
proceed farther than that place. He scorne
in doubt and fear, and yet was not in a hur
a world which he loved. He opened his
closed them again, at intervals losing a sma
of blood, then binding up the orifice, as his o
tion prompted. He conversed during the
with his usual gaiety, never changing from h
manner, nor talking sentences to show his c
death. He listened to his friends, who end
entertain him, not with grave discourses c
mortality of the soul, or the moral wisdon
sophers, but with strains of poetry and vers
and natural turn. He distributed presents
his servants, and ordered others to be chas
walked out for his amusement, and even l
sleep. In this last scene of his life he
such calm tranquillity, that his death, tho
of necessity, seemed no more than the dec
ture. In his will he scorned to follow the
others, who, like himself, died under th
stroke: he neither flattered the emperor, n
nus, nor any of the creatures of the court;
written, under the fictitious names of prof
and women, a narrative of Nero's debauc
his new modes of vice,[1] he had the spirit

1 This description of Nero and his flagitious co
supposed by some critics to be the work called I
bitri Satiricon; but this it is evident must be a
take. The Satiricon is a long work, and mus
written at leisure. It contains nothing that relate
modes of vice, or the secret practices of Nero'
glances often at the imbecility of Claudius, and
variety of miscellaneous matter, palpably the com

emperor that satirical romance, sealed with his
n seal, which he took care to break, that after his
ath it might not be used for the destruction of any
rson whatever.

XX. Nero saw, with surprise, his clandestine pas-
ns, and the secrets of his midnight revels, laid open
the world. To whom the discovery was to be im-
ted still remained a doubt. Amidst his conjectures,
lia, who by her marriage with a senator had risen
o notice, occurred to his memory. This woman had
en procured for the libidinous pleasures of the
ace, and lived, besides, in close intimacy with Pe-
nius. Nero concluded that she had betrayed him,
d for that offence ordered her into banishment.
aving made that sacrifice to his own resentment, he
ve another victim to glut the rage of Tigellinus,
mely, Numicius Thermus, a man of pretorian rank.
a accusation preferred against the favorite by a
ave enfranchised by Thermus was the cause that
oked the vengeance of Tigellinus. For that
ring attempt against a man in power the informer
ffered on the rack, and his patron, who had no con-
rn in the business, was put to death.

XXI. Nero had not yet satiated his vindictive fury.
e had spilt the best blood in Rome, and now, in the
rsons of Pætus Thrasea and Bareas Soranus, he
ped to destroy virtue itself. His rancor to those
o illustrious citizens had been long working in his
art. Thrasea, in particular, was the devoted object,
d various motives conspired against him. When

nd at ease. What was sent to Nero must have been a
ort performance, such as a man of genius might despatch
a few hours. How should the passages which have in-
led Petronius to be ranked with the critics of antiquity
d *a place in the narrative* of a dying man?

the business of Agrippina[1] was brought before the senate it will be in the memory of the reader that Thrasea withdrew from the debate. Afterwards, in the youthful sports called Juvenales, he seldom attended, and never with the alacrity which was expected. This cold indifference was the more grating to the prince as Thrasea, at Padua, his native city, not only assisted at the games of the cestus, originally instituted by Antenor, the fugitive from Troy, but also performed in the habit of a tragedian. It was farther remembered, that when Antistius, the pretor, was in danger of being capitally condemned for his verses levelled at Nero, Thrasea was the author of a milder sentence. There was still another circumstance: when divine honors were decreed to Poppæa he wilfully absented himself, nor did he afterwards attend her funeral. These offences were not suffered to sink into oblivion. The whole was treasured up by Cossutianus Capito, a man who to a bad heart and talents for every species of iniquity united motives of personal ill-will to Thrasea, which he nourished in secret, ever since the victory obtained over him in a charge of extortion conducted by the deputies from Cilicia, and supported with all the credit and eloquence of Thrasea.

XXII. The fertile genius of the prosecutor was not at a loss for new allegations. The heads of his charge were: 'That Thrasea made it a point to avoid renewing the oath of fidelity usual at the beginning of the year;[2] and, though a member of the quindecemvira

1 When the death of Agrippina, Nero's mother, was announced to the senate, and the fathers, with their usual spirit of adulation, were preparing their decrees on that occasion Thrasea rose from his seat and left the house; Annals, xiv 12.

2 *The* oath of fidelity was changed at different times. *At first it was* a solemn obligation to preserve the laws. Di

college, he never assisted at the ceremony of offering vows for the safety of the prince and the preservation of that melodious voice. A magistrate formerly of unremitting assiduity, he took a part in every debate, supporting or opposing the most trifling motions; and now what is his conduct? For three years together he has not so much as entered the senate. Even on a late occasion, when the business relating to Silanus and Vetus drew the fathers to a crowded meeting, Thrasea was not at leisure: the affairs of his clients engrossed his attention, and the patriot was detained from the senate by his own petty concerns. What is this but a public secession? He is at the head of a faction; and if his partisans take fire from his example, a civil war must be the consequence. Cæsar and Cato were the names that formerly kept the world awake; at present, in a city ever rent by discord, Nero and Thrasea engage the public mind.

'The popular demagogue has his sectaries and his followers; a set of men not yet, like their master, ambitiously sententious, but, in imitation of his mien and manners, sullen, gloomy, and discontented. By the formalities of their rigid discipline they hope to throw disgrace on the gay and elegant manners of their sovereign. Your preservation, Nero, is of no moment to Thrasea; he disregards your safety: he despises your accomplishments. Are your affairs in a train of prosperity, he is still dejected. Has any untoward event disturbed your peace of mind, he enjoys your distress, and in secret pampers himself with your

relates that on the kalends of January, A. U. C. 712, the magistrates swore on the Acts of Julius Cæsar. In process of time, to swear on the Acts of the Emperors grew into use; though we have seen Tiberius refusing to admit that form of oath.

affliction. The same spirit that refused tc
the acts of Julius Cæsar and Augustus
divinity of Poppæa. He turns religion to
sets the laws at defiance. The journals of
people[1] were never read by the provinc
armies with so much avidity as in the pr
ture; and the reason is, the history of the t
history of Thrasea's contumacy.

'If the system of this wise philosopher an
politician merit attention, let us at once e
doctrine; if otherwise, let us take from the
innovation their leader and their oracle.
whose precepts he affects to admire has
proud and dogmatical, busy, bold, and tur
was that stoic school that formed the Tuber

1 The Journals of the Roman People, called in
Diurna Populi Romani. These were the Roman
It is to be regretted that no collection of th
pieces has come down to us. We should have
of seeing minutely and distinctly the private lif
mans, and the opportunity would be fair to mak
son between a Roman journalist and the *doer*
newspaper.

2 Cicero, in the Oration for Muræna, gives a s
bero's character: 'He was a man of illustrious b
lar, and a professor of the stoic philosophy. Be
at the funeral of Scipio Africanus, to lay out the
the farewell supper, he chose the vilest sort, s
used at Carthage, and, having covered them witl
arranged in proper order a number of Samian
were earthenware; as if he were preparing for
of Diogenes the cynic, and not for that of the di
nus, to whose honor Quintus Maximus, in a pa
the rostrum, said, he thanked the immortal gods
man was born a Roman citizen; for wherever S
there by consequence would be fixed the em
world.' Cicero adds that Tubero, a good and upr
the grandson of Paulus Æmilius, and nephew to
Scipio, gave umbrage to the people by his perv
and for his goat-skins lost his election when can

avonii; names detested even by the old republic. nd what is now the principle of the whole faction? o subvert the fabric of a great empire, they hold forth e name of liberty; if they succeed they will destroy en liberty itself. Of what use can it be to Nero at he has banished a Cassius, if the followers of rutus are still allowed to flourish and multiply their umbers? On the whole, you have no occasion, Cæ-r, to write to the senate; you need not mention hrasea to that assembly: leave him to our manage-ent, and the judgment of the fathers.' Nero praised e zeal of Cossutianus, and added fury to a mind eady bent on mischief. To forward his villany he ave him for a coadjutor Eprius Marcellus, an orator f a turbulent spirit and overbearing eloquence.

XXIII. The prosecution against Bareas Soranus as already in the hands of Ostorius Sabinus, a Roman ight. Soranus was returned from his proconsular overnment of Asia. His conduct in the province ood distinguished by justice and the rectitude of his easures; but by the jealousy of Nero the virtues of e minister were converted into crimes. He had pened the port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the bstinate resistance of the people of Pergamus, who fused to let Acratus, one of the emperor's freedmen, rry off the statues and pictures that adorned their y. This meritorious conduct was an offence not to forgiven; but constructive crimes were to be held rth to the public. The heads of the accusation were, at Soranus had contracted a close and intimate friend-ip with Plautus, and had endeavored by popular

etorship. Seneca, who was a professed stoic, says of that hool, that there was no sect more benevolent, none more fectionate, *and none more* zealous to promote the good of ciety.

arts to incite the eastern provinces to a revol
decide the fate of two upright citizens Nero c
juncture favorable to his dark design. Tiridat
on his way to Rome to receive the diadem of A
from the hands of the emperor. He thought i
bable that, in the splendor of that magnificent
the horrors of domestic cruelty would be lost
haps it seemed a fair opportunity to display t
reign prince the grandeur of a Roman emperc
convince him, by the murder of two eminent ci
that the imperial power was nothing short of o
despotism.

XXIV. The city went forth in crowds to m
emperor, and gaze at the eastern monarch.
sea received orders not to appear on the occasi
mind like his was not to be disconcerted. W
usual fortitude he sent a memorial to the prin
questing to know by what act of his life he h
served such a mark of displeasure. He pledge
self, if a fair hearing were granted, to confu
enemies, and place his innocence in the clearest
Nero received the memorial with eager curiosi
pecting to find that Thrasea, under the opera
fear, had descended to the language of flatter
tarnish his own honor by magnifying the gl
the prince. Stung by disappointment, he refu
grant an audience. The sight of that illustrio
zen, the countenance, the spirit, and the virtue
man, were too much to encounter. He order
senate to be convened. Thrasea in the mea
consulted with his friends which would be most
able, to enter at large into his defence, or to
with silent indignation. They were divided i
opinions.

XXV. Some advised him to enter the sen

nt his enemies in the presence of that assembly. is constancy no doubt could be entertained: they that nothing could fall from him unworthy of f. Every word from his lips would tend to nt his glory. When danger threatened, to take r in the shade of obscurity were the act of a erate spirit. For him, he ought to have the round him to behold the scene; a great man cing bravely to meet his fate would be a spec- worthy of their applause. The senate would vith astonishment the energy of truth, and the ıe of virtue. Every sentiment from the mouth asea would rise superior to humanity, and sound fathers as if some god addressed them. Even art of Nero might for once relent. Should it n otherwise; should his obdurate nature still t; posterity would crown with immortal glory ıdaunted citizen who distinguished himself from unhappy victims who bowed their necks to the 's stroke, and crept in silence to their graves.'

XVI. Others were of a different opinion, convinced is best plan would be to wait the issue at his own . They spoke of Thrasea himself and the dig- of his character in the highest terms, but they ed that his adversaries would pour forth a torrent solence and opprobrious language. 'They de- that he would not suffer his ear to be wounded scurrility and vile abuse. Cossutianus and ıs Marcellus were not the only enemies of vir- there were others whose brutal rage might incite to outrage, and even violence to his person. The ty of Nero left none at liberty. In a general good men might follow the worst example. It d become the character of Thrasea to rescue from

infamy that august assembly which his prese so long adorned. If he did not attend the the part which, after hearing Thrasea in his fence, the fathers might have acted, will rem blematical; and by that uncertainty the hono senate may be saved. To hope that Nero wou for his crimes were to misunderstand his ch His unrelenting cruelty would most probably Thrasea's wife, on his whole family, and all th dear to him. For these reasons an eminent who had ever supported the honor of his na still florished with unblemished integrity, w well to remember who were the teachers of that furnished the principles and the model of duct. Since he had crowded into his life virtues, it would become him to emulate their his fall.'

Arulenus Rusticus assisted at this cons He was at that time a tribune of the people; man of sentiment, eager to be in action, an with the love of glory. He offered to inter his tribunitian authority, to prevent a decre senate. 'Forbear,' said Thrasea; 'and learn man, to restrain this impetuous ardor. By opposition you cannot save your friend, and y bring down ruin on yourself. For me, I ha my days; my course is well-nigh finished; it mains that I reach the goal with undiminished As to you, my friend, you have but lately ent career of civil dignities. Life is before you, have not as yet pledged yourself to the publi you take a decided part, it will behove you to well the times on which you are fallen, and th *ciples* which you mean to avow.' Having t

lared his sentiments, he gave no opinion concerning he propriety of appearing in the senate, but reserved he question for his own private meditation.

XXVII. On the following day two pretorian co-orts, under arms, surrounded the temple of Venus. A body of citizens, with swords ill concealed beneath heir gowns, invested all the avenues. In the forum, he open squares, and round the adjoining temples, ands of soldiers took their station; and through that nilitary array the senators were obliged to pass, sur-ounded by soldiers and pretorian guards. The as-embly was opened by Nero's questor,[1] with a speech n the name of the prince, complaining 'that the fa-hers' (no particular name was mentioned) 'deserted he public interest, and by their example taught the Roman knights to loiter away their time in sloth, and nattention to the welfare of the state. Nor could it e matter of wonder that the senators from the distant provinces no longer attended their duty, when men of consular rank, and even of sacerdotal dignity, thought f nothing but the embellishment of their villas, and he beauty of their gardens and pleasure-grounds.' This message was intended to be a weapon in the ands of the accusers, and their malice knew how to se it.

XXVIII. Cossutianus took the lead. Eprius Mar-ellus followed him, with more force and acrimony. 'The commonwealth,' he said, 'is on the brink of ruin. Certain turbulent spirits rear their crest so high that o room is left for the milder virtues of the prince.

1 The emperors had their own special questors for the con-uct of their affairs. Augustus was the first that established uch an office. Suetonius says he acquainted the senate with he scandalous *behavior of his* daughter Julia by a narrative *n writing, which was read to* the fathers by the questor.

The senate for some time past has been tame, and passive. Your lenity, conscri your lenity has given encouragement to se is in consequence of your indulgence that Tl sumes to trample on the laws; that his f Helvidius Priscus, adopts the same perni ciples; that Paconius Agrippinus, with the hatred towards the house of Cæsar which from his father, declares open hostility; anc tius Montanus, in seditious verses, sprea the venom of his pen. Where is Thrase want to see the man of consular rank in hi want to see the sacerdotal dignity offering u the emperor; I want to see the citizen oaths of fidelity. Perhaps that haughty sp above the laws and the religion of our ances haps he means to throw off the mask, and o a traitor and an enemy to his country. L pear in this assembly; let the patriot com leader of faction show himself; the man wh played the orator in this assembly, and took patronage the inveterate enemies of the pr us hear his plan of government. What do to change? What abuse does he mean to re he came every day with objections, the cavi of the man might tease, perplex, and emb but now his sullen silence is worse; it conde thing in the gross. And why all this disco settled peace prevails in every quarter of tl does that afflict him? Our armies, withou sion of Roman blood, have been victorious: cause of his disaffection? He sickens in tl prosperity; he repines at the florishing st country: he deserts the forum; he avoids t and the temples of the city; he threatens t

d retire into voluntary banishment; he ac-
ıone of your laws; your decrees are to him
an mockery; he owns no magistrates, and
im is no longer Rome. Let him therefore
: once from a city where he has long lived
he love of his country banished from his
he people odious to his sight.'

Marcellus delivered this invective in a strain
ce that gave additional terror to the natural
ı stern and savage countenance. His voice
:, his features more enlarged, and his eyes
ı fire. The senate heard him, but with
ıfelt before; the settled melancholy, which
ıeriod made habitual, gave way to stronger
They saw a band of soldiers round them,
bated in the midst of swords and javelins.
s absent; but the venerable figure of the
ted itself to every imagination. They felt
us Priscus, who was doomed to suffer, not
l guilt, but because he was allied to an
ıd virtuous citizen. What was the crime
us? The misfortunes of his father, cut off
:lty of Tiberius, rose in judgment against
'he case of Montanus[1] was thought hard
sive. His poetry was a proof of genius,
ce; and yet, for a pretended libel on the
ɔuth of expectation was to be driven from

.

\midst the tumult and distraction which
s excited Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of
anus, entered the senate. He opened at

ɔposed by some of the commentators that the
entioned in this place is the person introduced
: *the deep consultation* held by Domitian about
dressing a fish of enormous size.

once, and charged as a crime the friendship that subsisted between Soranus and Rubellius Plautus. He added, that the whole tenor of his administration in Asia was directed, not for the public good, but to promote his own popularity, and to spread a spirit of sedition through the provinces. These accusations had been long since fabricated, and were then grown threadbare; but the prosecutor was ready with a new allegation, which involved Servilia, the daughter of Soranus, in her father's danger. The charge against her was, that she had distributed sums of money among men skilled in judicial astrology. The fact was, Servilia, with no other motives than those of filial piety, had the imprudence, natural at her time of life, to apply to a set of fortune-tellers in order to satisfy her mind about the fate of her family, and to learn whether Nero's resentment was by any possibility to be appeased, and what would be the issue of the business in the senate.

She was cited to appear in the senate before the tribunal of the consuls. On one side stood the aged father; on the other his daughter, in the bloom of life, not having yet completed her twentieth year, but even then in a state of destitution, still lamenting the fate of her husband, Annius Pollio, lately torn from her, and condemned to banishment. She stood in silent sorrow, not daring to lift her eyes to her father, whom by her imprudent zeal she had involved in new misfortunes.

XXXI. The accuser pressed her with questions. He desired to know whether she had not sold her bridal ornaments, her jewels, and her necklace, to *supply* herself with money for magic sacrifices? She *fell prostrate* on the ground, and wept in bitterness of *heart.* Her sorrows were too big for utterance. She

›raced the altars, and rising suddenly, exclaimed
ı vehemence, 'I have invoked no infernal gods; I
e used no unhallowed rites, no magic, no incanta-
ıs. My unhappy prayers asked no more than that
, Cæsar, and you, conscript fathers, would extend
r protection to this best of men, this most affec-
ıate parent. For him I sold my jewels; for him I
›osed of my bridal ornaments, and for him I gave
the garments suited to my rank. In the same cause
as willing to sacrifice my life: the blood in my
ıs was at his service. The men whom I consulted
e all strangers to me; I had no knowlege of them.
y best can tell who they are, and what they pro-
. The name of the prince was never mentioned by
but with that respect which I pay to the gods.
ıat I did was my own act: that miserable man, my
ıappy father, knew nothing of it. If any crime
been committed, he is innocent: I, and I alone,
guilty!'

XXII. Soranus could no longer restrain himself.
interrupted his daughter, crying aloud, 'She was
with me in Asia; she is too young to have any
›wlege of Rubellius Plautus. In the accusation
inst her husband she was not involved; her filial
y is her only crime. Distinguish her case from
ıe; respect the cause of innocence, and on my head
your worst vengeance fall. I am ready to meet
fate.' With these words he rushed to embrace
child: she advanced to meet him, but the lictors
›rposed to prevent the pathetic scene. The wit-
ses were called in. The fathers had hitherto list-
d to all that passed with emotions of pity; but
' was soon converted into a stronger passion. The
earance of Publius Egnatius,[1] the client of Soranus,

Egnatius, the professor of the stoic philosophy, who ap-

hired to give evidence against his patron and h friend, kindled a general indignation. This man pr fessed himself a follower of the stoic sect. He h learned in that school to detail the maxims of virtu and could teach his features to assume an air of sin plicity, while fraud, and perfidy, and avarice, l lurking at his heart. The temptation of money dre forth his hidden character, and the hypocrite stoo detected. His treachery gave a standing lesson mankind, that, in the commerce of the world, it is n sufficient to guard against open and avowed iniquit since the professors of friendship can, under a cou terfeit resemblance of virtue, nourish the worst vices, and prove in the end the most pernicious en mies.

XXXIII. The same day produced a splendid e ample of truth and honor in the person of Cassi Asclepiodotus; a man distinguished by his wealt and ranked with the most eminent inhabitants of I thynia. Having loved and followed Soranus in l prosperity, he did not desert him in the hour of d tress. He still adhered to him with unaltered frien ship, and for his constancy was deprived of his s and sent into banishment; the gods, in their just d pensations, permitting an example of virtue, even ruin, to stand in contrast to successful villany. Th sea, Soranus, and Servilia, were allowed to cho their mode of dying. Helvidius Priscus and Paco Agrippinus were banished out of Italy. Monta owed his pardon to the influence of his father, but declared incapable of holding any public office. prosecutors were amply rewarded. Eprius Marce and Cossutianus received each of them fifty thous

pears as a witness against Barea Soranus, is mentione Juvenal. See the History, iv. 10.

rces. Ostorius Sabinus obtained a grant of ve thousand, with the ornaments of the questor-

XXIV. Towards the close of day the consular tor [1] was sent to Thrasea, who was then amusing elf in his garden, attended by a number of friends, nost illustrious of both sexes. Demetrius,[2] a phi-pher of the cynic school, was the person who fly engaged his attention. Their conversation, as inferred from looks of earnest meaning, and from e expressions distinctly heard, turned on the im-tality of the soul, and its separation from the body. asea had not heard of the decree that had passed senate, when his intimate friend Domitius Cæci-us arrived with the unhappy tidings. The com-y melted into tears. Thrasea saw their generous pathy: he heard their lamentations: but, fearing the interest which they took in the lot of a man ned to destruction might involve them in future ger, he conjured them to retire. Arria,[3] his wife, ired by the memorable example of her mother, lved to share her husband's fate. Thrasea intreated to continue longer in life, and not deprive their ghter of the only comfort and support of her er years.

Notice has been taken, § 27, note 1, of the imperial ques-
The consuls also had their questors, as we read in Dio, i., where it is said that Appius Claudius and Caius Nor-s, consuls A. U. C. 716, had each of them two questors r their own immediate direction.

Demetrius is praised by Seneca, not merely as a philoso-, but as a man of consummate virtue. De Beneficiis, . In another place he calls him emphatically, not the ier, but the witness of truth.

Arria, his wife, was the daughter of the celebrated Arria, in the reign of Claudius, A. U. C. 795, plunged a dagger er *own breast, to give* her husband Cæcina Pætus an *ple of undaunted courage.*

XXXV. He then walked his portico, and there received the consular questor. An air of satisfaction was visible in his countenance. He had been informed that Helvidius, his son-in-law, had met with nothing harsher than a sentence of banishment out of Italy. The decree of the senate, drawn up in form, being delivered to him, he withdrew to his chamber attended by Helvidius and Demetrius. He there presented both his arms; and the veins being opened, as soon as the blood began to flow he desired the questor to draw nearer, and sprinkling the floor with his vital drops, 'Thus,' he said, 'let us make libation to Jupiter the Deliverer! Behold, young man, a mind undaunted and resigned; and may the gods avert from you so severe a trial of your virtue! But you are fallen on evil times, in which you will find it expedient to fortify your soul by examples of unshaken constancy.' The approach of death was slow and lingering. As his pains increased he raised his eyes, and turning to Demetrius, * * * * * * * * *

[The rest of this book is lost.]

APPENDIX.

CT. I. IT is not without regret that we lose the rds of a great man at the point of death. All we ow is, that Thrasea fixed his eyes on his friend metrius, and there Tacitus fails us. What the phi- opher said cannot now be collected from any con- nporary historian. It is probable that he expired a short time after. Seeing the vices of the age, and savage cruelty of the reigning prince, it cannot be tter of wonder that a man of virtue, fortified by the trines of the stoic school, did not think it awful to . He was often heard to say that he had rather down his life to-day, than be to-morrow banished an island. That sentiment was applauded by the losophers[1] of the age. With the same spirit he s used to declare his mind in conversation with his ends. 'If,' he said, 'Nero intended to destroy no but me, I could excuse his flatterers; but flattery ll not save their lives. Since death is a debt that all st pay, it is better to die in freedom than live an ominious slave. All that Nero can do is to shorten r days: my memory will still subsist, and men will ntinue to talk of me. But for the tribe of abject cophants, they will perish, and be mentioned no ore.' Thrasea was not more distinguished by his shaken fortitude than by the virtues of humanity. iny the consul celebrates him for an apophthegm, ich shows in the fairest light the amiable tenderness

[1] Epictetus, as we are told by Arrian, recorded the apoph- egms of Thrasea, *and in* particular the sentiment here *ribed to him,*

of his nature. An unforgiving disposition was in his eyes not only ungenerous, but immoral; it was therefore his maxim,[1] that he who suffers himself to hate vice, will hate mankind. It were superfluous to add any farther particulars of a man so truly eminent. Tacitus says, that by destroying him, Nero intended, by the same blow, to destroy virtue itself. All praise is summed up in that short encomium.

Soranus and his daughter Servilia died with equal virtue and equal glory. Helvidius Priscus,[2] as already mentioned, was condemned to exile. Paconius Agrippinus met with the same severity. Like his friend Helvidius, he was a man of distinguished virtue, and undaunted resolution. Being informed that his trial, though he was not cited to appear, was actually depending before the senate, 'May the gods grant me their protection!' said he; 'but it is now the fifth hour, and that is the time when I usually bathe. His cause was not long in suspense. Being informed that judgment was pronounced against him, he calmly asked, 'What is the sentence? death or banishment?'

1 Pliny the consul observes that many, who are themselves slaves to every vice, are notwithstanding malicious declaimers against the errors of others: yet surely a lenity of disposition is of all other virtues the most becoming. The rule which ought to be most religiously observed is, 'Let us be inexorable to our own failings, while we treat those of the rest of the world with tenderness, not excepting even such as forgive none but themselves, remembering always what the humane, and therefore the great, Thrasea used to say: 'He who hates vice, hates mankind.'' Mr. Melmoth, the elegant translator of Pliny, says: 'The meaning of this maxim seems to be, that as it is difficult to separate the action from the man, we should not suffer the errors of the world to raise in us that acrimony of indignation, which, if well examined, will perhaps be oftener found to proceed from some secret principle of malice, than a just abhorrence of vice.

2 *Helvidius* Priscus was recalled from exile, and afterwards put to death in the reign of Vespasian.

told that it was the latter, 'And what have they rith my effects?'—'You are left in possession of —'Well, then,' said he, 'I can dine at Aricia.' He ed his life, and, by his calm indifference, gained ch glory as others by the fortitude with which et their fate. Demetrius, the friend of Thrasea, t escape the notice of Nero. The tyrant threat- nstant execution. 'You may command it,' said rius; 'you threaten me with death, and nature ins you.'[1] The intrepid firmness of a poor phi- er, or perhaps the meanness of his condition, his life.

Cornutus, another philosopher, who professed ctrines of the Platonic school, had the mis- e to be consulted on the subject of a poem which ad projected.[2] He spoke his mind with honest m, and for that offence was immediately banished. as the cruelty of the prince appeased by the r that fell a sacrifice; he still thirsted for blood; ppily a scene of splendor, then ready to be dis- , engaged his attention, and gave the people respite from the rage of an insatiate tyrant. tes, who with the consent of his brother Volo- the Parthian king, had agreed with Corbulo to

rian has recorded this fact. Seneca has mentioned ius with the highest applause, and chiefly for the ig sentiment: 'Nothing can be more unfortunate than who has never felt the stroke of adversity: he has experience of himself.'

rnutus was the friend and preceptor of Persius the Crevier, in the Lives of the Emperors, tells us that ntended to write the Roman history in verse, and in ndred books. 'That will be too many,' said Cornu- nobody will read them.' In answer, he was told that pus had written a great many more. 'Yes,' replied is, 'but the difference between the authors is very *He escaped with his* life, but was banished. Cre- *oman Emperors, iv. 295.*

undertake a journey to Rome, in order there to receive the regal diadem from the hand of the emperor, was arrived in Italy. Nero was then at Naples, and in that city the eastern prince was admitted to his presence. The spectacle was magnificent. It served at once to gratify the pride of a Roman emperor, and for a time to soothe the afflictions of the people. Tiridates was attended by a long procession of officers and a military band appointed by Corbulo. He had, besides, not less than three thousand of the Parthian nobility in his train, with his wife, and the sons of Vologeses, of Pacorus, and Monobazus. His march through the provinces had no appearance of a prince subdued, and forced to submit to the will of a conqueror. Till he entered the city of Naples all was grandeur and royal magnificence. The act of humiliation still remained. He was to pay homage to the emperor on his knees. Mortifying as that circumstance was to an oriental king, Tiridates submitted to prostrate himself at Nero's feet. Vologeses had stipulated with Corbulo that his brother should not be compelled to deliver up his sword; and Tiridates called it an ignominious act, beneath the dignity of the Arsacidæ. Nothing could extort his sword. He is said to have nailed it to the scabbard. The magnanimity with which he refused to comply obtained the applause of all who beheld a scene so new and magnificent.

The court set out for Rome. Nero thought proper to make some stay at Puteoli, in order to entertain his royal visitor with a show of gladiators. The spectacle was exhibited by Patrobius, one of the emperor's freedmen, with great expense and prodigious pomp. *The genius* of Nero could not lie still on such an *occasion.* In his opinion it was fit that a foreign prince,

and his Parthian courtiers, should know how well the emperor of Rome could sing. Tiridates beheld the whole with mixed emotions of wonder, admiration, and contempt. The example of Nero did not tempt him to exhibit his person as a show to the people. He scorned to descend into the arena, but did not think it beneath his dignity to call for his bow and arrow, and from the throne, where he was seated, to give a specimen of his dexterity. He aimed at the wild beasts, and the spectators admired his address and the vigor of his arm. Historians relate as a fact that two bulls were transfixed by one arrow, and died on the spot.[1]

III. Nero proceeded with a grand cavalcade on his way to Rome, where the most splendid preparations were made for his reception. The whole city was illuminated, and the houses decorated with garlands and laurel-wreaths. The people crowded together from all quarters, and rent the air with shouts and acclamations, while the emperor, with Tiridates and the Parthian nobility in his train, made his triumphal entry. A day was fixed for Tiridates to receive the diadem from the hands of Nero. Nothing could equal the pomp and splendor with which that ceremony was performed.[2] On the preceding evening the city was again illuminated, and the streets adorned with flowers. At the dawn of day an incredible multitude repaired to the forum; the tops of houses were crowded with spectators, and a splendid, but theatrical pomp was exhibited with lavish expense. The people, dressed in white robes, crowned with laurels, and ranked in their several tribes,

1 The skill in archery, which Tiridates displayed on the occasion, is related by Dio.

2 The appearance of Tiridates before the Roman people, and *the prodigious magnificence* of that public spectacle, *are described by Suetonius*, in Neron. § 13.

walked in procession to their respective seats. The pretorian guards, with their standards ranged in order, and their colors flying, displayed their glittering arms. Nero entered the forum in his triumphal habit. The whole body of the senate followed in his train. He took his seat on a curule chair, amidst the standards and the eagles. In a short time after Tiridates made his appearance. The soldiers opened their lines: he advanced through the ranks, with his eastern nobility in his train. He approached the rostrum, and on his knees offered homage to Nero. The people were not able to contain their joy. They saw the pride of an oriental king humbled at the feet of the emperor. The majesty of Rome filled every imagination. A shout burst forth from the enraptured multitude. Tiridates was astonished at the sound: he stood at gaze, and his heart shrunk within him. Nero raised him from the ground, and, having clasped him in his arms, placed the diadem on his head, amidst the repeated shouts and acclamations of the people.

IV. The Parthian prince, not yet recovered from his surprise, in the hurry and agitation of his spirits, addressed himself to Nero, in substance as follows: 'You see before you a prince descended from the line of the Arsacidæ; you behold the brother of two kings, Vologeses and Pacorus; and yet I own myself your slave. You, no less than Mithra,[1] are to me a god. I pay you the same veneration as I do the sun. Without your protection I have no kingdom: my rights must flow from you. You are the author of my fortune; and your will is fate.' An ancient pretor undertook to be interpreter on the occasion. The peo-

1 *The* sun, under the name of Mithra, was worshipped by *the Persians*, and almost all the eastern nations. See Hyde, *History of* the Persian Religion.

e, well convinced that Nero by his vices had forfeited l kind of claim to such respectful language, received as the homage of a king to the majesty of the Roman ame. The speech was sufficiently mean and abject, t the arrogance and ferocity of Nero's answer exeded every thing. 'I congratulate you on the wism that brought you thus far to enjoy the sunshine of y presence, and my protection. The diadem, which ur father could not leave you, nor your brothers nfirm in your hand, is the gift which I bestow. The ngdom of Armenia is yours: I place you on the cant throne. From this day you and your brothers ay learn that it is mine to raise or depose the morchs of the earth, as my wisdom shall direct.'

Such was the haughty style in which Nero spoke of mself; but he did not long support his grandeur. he coronation being over, he adjourned to Pompey's eatre, where the scene was prepared at an enormous pense, with the most superb decorations. The stage, d the whole inside of that noble structure, were sed[1] with gold. Such a profusion of wealth and agnificence had never been displayed to view. To reen the spectators from the rays of the sun, a purple nopy, inlaid with golden stars, was spread over their ads. In the centre was seen, richly embroidered, e figure of Nero, in the act of driving a curricle. To e exhibitions of the theatre the pleasures of the table ceeded. The banquet[2] was the most sumptuous at taste and luxury could contrive. When the appete of the guests was satisfied, the public diversions

1 Pliny mentions the decorations of the theatre, and the st display of gold for the reception of Tiridates. See also io Cassius, lxiii.

2 *Dio says this feast was given in Nero's golden palace; r which, see Pliny, xxxiii. 3.*

were once more resumed. Nero seized the opp to display his talents; and he, who a little be master of the universe, appeared in the chara charioteer, comedian, singer, and buffoon. l on the stage, and drove round the circus in h livery.[1] The king of Armenia saw the prin talked of dealing out crowns and sceptres, wa tune, and managing the reins for the entertain his subjects. Such despicable talents, he kne neither form a warrior nor a legislator. Hi it now was evident, depended on the virtue genius of men very different from himself. found a people tame enough to obey, and officers willing to command his armies, was n wonder to the Parthian prince. Struck with tl he could not refrain from saying to Nero, in plicity of his heart, 'You have in Corbulo valuable slave.' The drift and good sense of servation made no impression on a frivolous n that of Nero. An emperor, who placed his being a scenic performer, paid no attention to t of Corbulo. If he understood the reflectior eastern prince, he showed afterwards that 1 use he made of it was, to nourish a secret j and plan the ruin of an officer whose fame in a too great for a tyrant to endure.

As soon as the diversions of the theatre circus ended, Nero thought fit to open a m portant scene. He proceeded with a grand re

1 Rome, under the emperors, was often disturbe violent spirit of theatrical factions, the leaders of wl distinguished by the color of their dress, such as wh *green*, and yellow. This is what Tacitus, in anoth *has called* 'Histrionalis Favor.' Montesquieu has cc *it as one of* the causes of the declension of the R [illegible]*ire.*

)l, where he entered with a branch of laurel
ıd ; and, as if he had subdued Armenia, the
: and player of interludes was saluted impe-
s vanity was now amply gratified; but vanity
ıe only spring of his actions. To be an adept
ırts had been for some time his predominant
and, as Tiridates brought with him in his
.mber of the Parthian magi, he thought the
ty fair to learn all the secrets of an occult
/hich he believed was not the mere illusion
ıaticians and pretended philosophers. Tiri-
lied to ingratiate himself, and was proud to
emperor of Rome for his pupil.[1] By his
e magi opened all their stores of knowlege,
, with the anxiety of a guilty mind, was eager
to futurity. He was master of the Roman
d, with the assistance of his oriental teachers,
ıimself that he should soon be able to control
of Providence, and give the law to the gods.
ı view he passed his time in close conference
:t of Chaldean impostors; but Tiridates was
in return for the kingdom of Armenia, to
benefactor the art of holding commerce with
s. Nero found the whole to be a system of
nstead of being enabled to hold a council
·nal powers, he was left to the suggestions of
eart, and the advice of a pernicious crew of
d men and women, who were the emperor's
ial ministers, and the instruments of every

s certain that Nero's passion for the guitar
: music was not greater than his passion to
ıagic incantations; but though his hopes were

the *elder has given* an account of Nero's passion
ılt sciences, xxx. 2.

frustrated, he did not cease to entertain Tiridat the most lavish profusion. An enormous sun issued every day to the Armenian king for the s of his own grandeur and the courtiers in his tra his departure a still larger sum was ordered as sent from the emperor; and that he might rebu city of Artaxata,[2] which had been levelled ground, a number of artificers were added at expense to the retinue of the Parthian princ also engaged a number of others to attend hi stipulated wages, to his own country. The quence of Nero's generosity was, that the fixin king on the throne of Armenia was a heavier to the Romans than any of their most exp wars.

There is reason to think that the want of suc the attempt to make Nero believe in the religion magi, served in some degree to open the eyes o dates, and remove the errors of eastern super In order to visit Rome, he had taken a wide c over an immense tract of country, and travelled way by land. The cause of this circuitous and ous journey must be referred to the superstition native country. In the creed of the Parthian the sea was said to be a sacred element;[3] and in it, or defile the purity of the waters by the fluities of the human body, was held to be profa impious. The design probably was, by that d

1 Suetonius says Nero spent, in treating Tiridat unparalleled magnificence, eight hundred thousand se a day; a sum almost incredible! and at his departu sented him with above a million; Suet. in Nero, § 30.

2 The destruction of Artaxata has been mentioned; *xiii. 41.*

3 The superstitious veneration with which the Pa *considered* the sea has been already mentioned.

revent migration; and what at first was policy re-ed in time the sanction of religion. But Tiri-s, during his stay at Rome, so far weeded out the ıdices of education, that he made no scruple to rn by sea. He embarked at Brundusium, and, ng crossed the Adriatic, arrived at the port of rachium. From that place he pursued his voyage g the coast of Asia, and, being safely landed, ed the Roman provinces, and the most splendid s on the continent. Before he entered the confines rmenia Corbulo advanced to a meeting. In his rview with the Armenian monarch he still main-ed that superior character which he had fairly ıed by his talents and his virtues. Finding an ex-rdinary number of artificers in the prince's train, esolved to act with due attention to the interest as . as the dignity of the Roman name; and with that r, having separated such as were hired, he suffered e but those who were a donation from Nero to mi-:e to a foreign country. This behavior gave no of-:e to Tiridates. He took leave of Corbulo with the ıest esteem for his many virtues; and, though he ırtained no kind of personal respect for Nero, he ıght the regal diadem claimed a return of grati-e; and on that principle, as soon as the capital of ıenia was rebuilt, instead of calling it Artaxata, ave it the flattering name of Neronia.

I. Rome having no war on her hands, Nero, with of self-congratulation, as if his valor had subdued nations, thought fit to shut the temple of Janus.[1] : that pacific disposition did not last long. In-cated by the homage which he had received from

Suetonius says Nero, having placed his laurel crown in capitol, *and being complimented with the title of impe-; closed the temple of* Janus; in Nero, § 13.

Tiridates, he wanted to renew the same scene of splendor and vainglory, by the humiliation of Vologeses, the Parthian king. For that purpose he endeavored, by pressing invitations, to induce that prince to undertake a journey to Rome. At length the eastern monarch gave a decisive answer: 'You can cross the sea, which I hold to be a forbidden element: come to Asia, and we will then settle the ceremony of our meeting.' Fired with indignation by that peremptory refusal, and the tone of grandeur with which it was delivered, Nero was on the point of declaring war, if other projects had not dazzled his imagination. He concerted his measures, and laid plans of vast ambition; but the caprice that dictated them yielded to the first novelty that occurred. He intended to open the temple of Janus for four wars at once.[1] The first against the Jews, who felt themselves oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of Gessius Florus, the governor of the province, and were at that time in open revolt. The second enterprise was intended against the Ethiopians; the third against the Albanians on the borders of the Caspian sea; the fourth to revenge the insult offered to him by the haughty spirit of Vologeses. The love of fame, whatever he did, was the inspiring motive: whether he sent forth his armies, or drove a chariot, or sung a song, praise was still the ultimate end. If by his victorious arms the Ethiopians and Albanians could be reduced to subjection, the glory of enlarging the boundaries of the empire was to be the bright reward. His exertions were therefore made against the two last-mentioned states. He sent detachments forward to survey the country; he formed flying camps in those distant re-

1 *Suetonius* mentions his intended expedition to the Caspian sea, § 19.

is; he began to collect the forces of the empire; not content with drawing from Britain, from Gery, and Illyricum, the flower of his armies, he ied a new legion, composed of men six feet high, this he called the phalanx[1] of Alexander the at.

midst this din of arms, and all this mighty tumult varlike preparations, an incident occurred of more nent to Nero than the glory of the Roman name. leputation arrived at Rome from the cities of ece, where the theatre, and poetry, and music ished, with orders to present to the emperor, from several places, the victor's crown for minstrelsy song. An opportunity so bright and unexpected not to be neglected. Nero was transported with : he towered above himself and all competition. deputies were admitted to his presence: they e caressed, invited to his table, and all other busis, however important, gave way to the elegant . The Greeks were skilled in the trade of adula. They beseeched the prince to honor them with ecimen of his talents. Nero sung to his guests: heard, they applauded, they were thrown into asies. He, in his turn, admired their taste; they e the only people who had music in their souls; , and they only, had an ear for finer sound; the masters of harmony; the judges who deserved ear his exquisite powers. From that moment all warlike projects vanished from his mind. He ight no more of humbling the Parthian king; the iopians and Albanians might enjoy their indelent state, and Vespasian might take the field nst the Jews. The fame of a coachman, a min-

[1] These *levies of men six* feet high, to be called the Alexian *phalanx, are stated* by Suetonius in Nero, § 19.

lycletus, his associate, had already enriched
with the plunder of the public, and was now, v
whole power in his hands, to give a full displa
character. That point being settled, a weight
still remained. An imperial charioteer, and
dian of illustrious rank, who was to be nobly
with Olympic dust, and to bring back laurel
for his victories in song and pantomime, co
undertake such an expedition without the
pomp. Preparations were accordingly made
emperor seemed to be going to an importa
Tigellinus put himself at the head of the com
of the Augustan order, in number not less t
thousand. To these were added an incredible
tude of abandoned women, and the most deb
young men of the time. The whole train wen
not in warlike array, with swords, and pik
javelins, but with softer instruments; with t
and buskin; with music, lutes and guitars.

and Julius Rufus; but their authority was superseded by Helius, the freedman,[1] who exercised all the powers of the imperial prerogative. This man broke loose at once, and was soon felt as a public calamity. Pride and insolence, avarice and cruelty, the never-failing vices of those detestable miscreants, who from the dregs of the people rise above their fellow-citizens, marked the conduct of this favorite freedman, and debased the people who submitted to so vile a master. All degrees and ranks of men, the senate, and the Roman knights, groaned under the iron rod of an ignoble tyrant, who confiscated their estates, sent them into banishment, or took away their lives, at his will and pleasure. The people, who shuddered at the presence of the emperor, were obliged in misery of heart to lament his absence.

Nero, in the mean time, arrived at Cassiopœa in the isle of Corcyra, and there, in the temple of Jupiter Cassius, he tuned his harp, and sung in the presence of the people. From that place he set sail for Greece. Being safely landed, his first care was, like a great officer, before he marched farther into the country, to settle the plan of his operations, in order not only to gain, but to secure his victory. With this view, he issued his public orders, requiring that all the games which were celebrated throughout Greece at stated periods, and in different years, should be performed at their respective places during his stay in the country; and not only so, but that each city

1 Helius, the freedman, is mentioned by Dio Cassius in the character of a prime minister during Nero's absence from Rome. Corneille has described a slave rising to preferment with the sententious brevity of Tacitus:

Jamais un affranchi n'est qu'un esclave infame;
Bien *qu'il change d'état*, il ne change point d'âme.
CINNA, act iv. s. 6.

should wait for his arrival. Nor was this all: the fame of such as had proved victorious, and were then no more, was to be obliterated from the memory of man, that all preceding merit might be eclipsed by the lustre of a new performer. The statues of the deceased were all demolished. The living artists were treated with less rigor; they were required to enter the lists with their imperial rival, and on that condition their statues were exempted from the general destruction. Nero's love of fame was not a generous emulation; it was an impatience of a rival, that turned to envy, rancor and malice. To be pronounced the first musician, and the best tragedian, was not enough for his vast ambition; he was likewise to be the most skilful driver of a curricle. With that bright object in view, he had for some years before meditated an expedition into Greece; and finding that the Olympic games were, in their regular course, to be celebrated in the summer, in the year of Rome eight hundred and sixteen, he even then had the precaution, by a positive command, to defer the exhibition of that great national spectacle till his arrival in Greece. The law, or which was equivalent, his will and pleasure, being announced, the people prepared for his reception. He began his tour through the country: he visited the several cities, and gave himself a spectacle on the public stage. Greece had been reduced to subjection by Flaminius, Mummius, Agrippa, and Augustus Cæsar; and now in her turn she triumphed over the conqueror. She saw the emperor of Rome running from place to place in the character of a strolling player, a travelling musician, and a famous coachman. He did not, however, depend altogether on his merit, but practised the underhand arts by which success is often insured. He hired a nu-

ous party to applaud, and distributed bribes among judges who were to decide. Wherever he perred, a legion of Roman knights was stationed ne theatre, by their own example to excite and nate the admiration of the multitude, and teach Greeks what was excellent in the arts which they nselves had invented, and carried to perfection. these and such like preconcerted measures Nero red his triumph in all quarters. Competition was ted, and at the same time intimidated. In one of cities a man well skilled in music, but a bad polin, experienced the danger of contending with a erful rival. Zealous for the honor of his art, and id of his own talent, he persisted to dispute the e, till the lictors drove him to the wall, and there atched him in the sight of the audience. Vespasian found it necessary to pass from Syria into Greece, rder to appear among the band of courtiers, and his homage to the emperor. But unfortunately ither had no ear for music, or he did not reckon it ng the accomplishments of a prince. He heard divine voice in a sullen mood, or, as happened to at Rome on a former occasion, he fell asleep. this offence he was ordered to appear no more in presence of the emperor. He retired to a small ge, and there, in an obscure lurking-place, hoped ind a shelter from resentment. He remained for e time in that state of anxious suspense, when the s called him forth to scenes of future glory. The s were in the field with a powerful army: they had ated Cestius Gallus with great slaughter, and taken agle from one of the legions. The crisis was big danger, and called for vigorous measures. But o did not think that Judea was the field of glory. *rave the command to* Vespasian, apprehending no

danger from a man of obscure descent and austere manners, whom he was no longer willing to retain near his person. Vespasian departed to take on him the command in Syria, and Nero continued his progress through Greece. He was received every where with public demonstrations of respect; but the people could scarcely refrain from laughter when they heard the sound of a voice neither loud nor clear, and saw the singer rising on his toes, in a vain endeavor to expand the notes, and straining his organs till a face, naturally red, was so inflamed as to vie with the deepest scarlet. Not content with the fame of an enchanting singer, he resolved to prove himself a great tragedian. The parts in which he chose to distinguish himself,[1] were Hercules Furens; Œdipus, who murdered his father, and tore out his own eyes: Orestes poniarding his mother; and sometimes a ravished Sabine, or a matron in labor, on the point of being delivered. When he arrived at Olympia, he found that the celebrated games of that place consisted altogether of chariot races and athletic exercises, and by consequence that no theatre had been erected. Was his darling music to be excluded? Rather than suffer such an indignity he ordered preparations to be made for interludes and other dramatic performances. Not content with being blinded on the stage; with raving like a madman, and being brought to bed like a woman, he was still to figure on the race-ground, and astonish the multitude with his dexterity in whirling round the course. Determined to perform wonders, and surpass all ancient fame, he mounted a car drawn

1 Dio Cassius tells us that when Nero performed the part of Canace one of the spectators asked, 'What is he doing *now*?' A man answered, 'He is in labor.' For a list of the *characters* acted by Nero, see Suet. in Nero, § 21.

orses; but had the misfortune, in the heat of
er, to be thrown from his seat. He mounted
out either hurt by his fall, or not able to bear
city of the motion, he was obliged to descend
e reached the goal. He was, notwithstanding,
conqueror. He contended afterwards for
es at the Pythian, the Nemean, and all the
mes of Greece, with equal success at every
He was proclaimed victor in all the trials of
d gained no less than eighteen hundred dif-
rowns. The honor so obtained was always
od to reflect a lustre on the conqueror's native

With a view to that custom, the form of the
ation in favor of Nero was as follows: 'Nero
s victor in the combat (naming it), and has
crown for the Roman people, and the uni-
f which he is master.' Care was taken to
to Rome a regular account of all his victories.
career of rapid success made the people stand

The senate passed a vote of thanks to the
r such signal events, and by their decrees so
he calendar, that the year could scarce find
r so many rejoicing days.

Nero now conceived that he had triumphed
e arts, and, in the pride of his heart, resolved
a progress through the conquered country.
. care, however, not to visit Athens or Lace-

In the former, he dreaded to approach the
f the Eumenidæ. A mind lashed and goaded
hips and stings of a guilty conscience wished
l those avenging deities.[1] He was deterred

onius says Nero, after the murder of his mother,
able to bear the reproaches of his own conscience,
e had *received the* congratulatory addresses of the
' *senate, and the* people; he frequently confessed

from Lacedæmon by the form of government, and the sanctity of the laws established by Lycurgus. The place where the Eleusinian mysteries[1] were celebrated was also forbidden ground. Murderers and parricides were excluded from those religious ceremonies. Nero was seized with a fit of remorse. Busy reflection brought to light the iniquities of his conduct: in the agitation of his spirits, he reviewed those deeds of horror, which forbore to goad him while his mind was becalmed by vanity and pleasure. Conscience may grant a truce to the guilty, but never makes a lasting peace. Distracted by his fears, and sunk in the gloom of superstition,[2] he resolved to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Pythian priestess warned him to beware of seventy-three years. He received the admonition as a certain promise of long life, not then thinking of Galba, who had reached his seventy-third year, and in a short time after succeeded to the imperial dignity. The oracle pleased him at first by agreeable bodings, but did not continue long in his good graces. The parricide, he was told, which he had committed, placed him in the same rank with Alcmeon and Orestes, who had murdered their mothers. Nero kindled with indignation. He resolved that the god should feel his resentment, and, in his fury, disfranchised the territory of Cirrha,[3] which had

that he was haunted by his mother's ghost following him with the whips and burning torches of the Furies.

1 When Nero made the tour of Greece he did not dare to attend the Eleusinian mysteries, having heard the crier warning all impious and nefarious villains not to approach the place; Suet. in Nero, § 34.

2 Suetonius says he attempted to call up his mother's ghost, in order to appease and mollify her wrath; in Nero, § 34.

3 The territory of Cirrha was for many years annexed to the temple of Delphi.

appropriated to the temple, and was held to be
crated ground. Nor did his frensy end here. The
: was to be silenced; or so profaned as to lose its
:. With this intent he ordered a number of men
massacred on the spot; and having poured liba-
of their blood into the opening of the ground,
which the exhalations issued that were sup-
to inspire the priestess with enthusiastic fury,
ised the orifice, and with pride and insolence left
:e which had been revered for ages. After this
it he returned to his former luxury, and in the
ications of vice hoped to find some respite from
xious thoughts. But even vice required variety.
tition might pall the sated appetite, and if he did
how an inventive genius, the flattery of the
:s was in danger of being exhausted. He had
himself at Rome the wife of Pythagoras; but
vas become an obsolete story, and no longer ex-
wonder. He was determined therefore to re-
his sex, and marry Sporus the eunuch. The
ony was performed [1] with great pomp and splen-
Calvia Crispinilla was appointed mistress of
ardrobe to the emperor's wife. She adorned the
with all the decorations of female elegance; and
inus, amidst the applause of the astonished
:s, who, with arch sneers of ridicule, had still
ldress to pay their adulation, gave away Sporus
rriage to the emperor of Rome. It was said on
:casion that it would have been well for man-
f Nero's father had been married to such a wife.
Nero could not, in this unbounded manner,

[1] Chrysostomus says, Oration xxi., Nero offered a great
l to the person who should change Sporus into a
; *and there were* not wanting empirics who pro-
o accomplish that metamorphosis!

riot in vice and folly without vast expense
digious waste of the public treasure. T
prodigality, Helius the freedman, who co
administration at Rome, labored hard, b
iquitous measure, by extortion, and cruel
enormous sums of money. A tame and
senate was easily induced by the arts of
minister to vote an immense annual sum
mitted to the emperor during his absen
capital. The rapacity of Helius was not
peased. The companions of the Augus
had bound themselves by a vow to erect
Nero, not less than a thousand pounds v
that voluntary obligation they were said
curred a debt, and were compelled to
equivalent sum of money. No rank or
safe from plunder and oppression. Rom
and senators fell a sacrifice, and their e
confiscated. Sulpicius Camerinus, a man
from an illustrious family, was put to d
extraordinary reason. The surname of P
been for ages annexed to his ancestors, a
sequently an hereditary honor. By the
vention of Helius this was construed int
The name might imply a victor in the Pyth
and when Nero, with the consenting voice
was declared universal conqueror, to usu
was a crime of violated majesty, and an im
lege. Sulpicius and his son were put to
their effects were forfeited to the state.
whatever rank, was sure to provoke the ha
city, and Rome, under the government of
and arrogant freedman, was a scene of plu
and cruelty. And yet all that could be
those iniquitous means was not sufficient

y of Nero. The Greeks had flattered his vanity, in return, were doomed to feel the hand of oppres-

The cities which had revered him as a god had on in the end to execrate him as a tyrant. They their best and most distinguished citizens put to h, or sent into banishment, that the emperor might y the spoils of their plundered property.[1]

. The fame of a divine voice, and an exquisite l on the guitar, was not sufficient for the ambition Nero. He wished to distinguish himself by some ard-of enterprise. The grand, the vast, and al- impossible, fired his imagination. He arrived at nth, and was there surprised to see by what a ow isthmus the two seas were separated. Like hero of Statius the poet, he heard the murmur of illows, on the Ionian and the Ægean shores; 'in is audit duo littora campis.' The project of piercing igh the land, and forming a navigable canal to nunicate the two seas, and render it unnecessary nariners to sail round the Peloponnesus, struck ancy, and fired him with ideas of immortal fame.[2] Greeks opposed the design, and endeavored to ade him from undertaking it. The language of rstition was, that to attempt to join what had been ted for ages, would be an impious violation of the of nature. Nero was not to be deterred from his ose: religious principles were urged in vain: to uer nature were an imperial work, and what the ordained might be new-modelled by his superior

[1] Nero's dislike of every great man at Rome, joined to his ity, induced him, by means of his satellites, to kill, or to despatch themselves, the richest and most illustrious ose who till then had escaped his cruelty; Crevier, iv.

[2] For this attempt to penetrate the isthmus of Corinth, *uet. in Nero, § 19;* and Dio, lxiii.

judgment. He knew, besides, that the attempt had been made by Demetrius Polycrates, an eastern king, by Julius Cæsar and Caligula; and to accomplish an arduous work, which those three princes had undertaken without effect, appeared to him the height of human glory. He resolved therefore to begin the work without delay. Having harangued the pretorian soldiers and urged every topic that could inflame their ardor, he provided himself with a golden pick-axe (for such hands were not to be sullied by baser metal), and, advancing on the shore, sung in melodious strains a hymn of Neptune, Amphitrite, and all the inferior gods and goddesses, who allay or heave the waters of the deep. After this ceremony he struck the first stroke into the ground, and with a basket of sand on his shoulder marched away in triumph, proud of his Herculean labor. The natives of the country saw the frantic enterprise with mixed emotions of fear, astonishment, and religious horror. They observed to Nero, that of the three princes, who had conceived the same design, not one died a natural death. They told him farther, that in some places as soon as the axe pierced the ground a stream of blood gushed from the wound; hollow groans were heard from subterraneous caverns; and various spectres, emitting a feeble murmur, were seen to glide along the coast. These remonstrances made no impression. Nero ordered his soldiers to exert their utmost vigor: money was levied in every quarter: cruelty and extortion went hand-in-hand. In order to procure a sufficient number of workmen, the jails in all parts of the empire were ransacked, and the armies in Syria and Palestine had it in command to send to Corinth *all the* prisoners taken in battle.

The conduct of the war against the Jewish nation

had been, as mentioned above, committed to Vespasian, who had already carried his victorious arms through the province of Galilee. The enemy, as soon as they had intelligence that he was advancing at the head of a powerful army, endeavored to surprise a Roman garrison in the city of Ascalon, but were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. Not less than eighteen thousand were put to the sword by the legions, who had orders to give no quarter. Vespasian found it necessary, against a fierce and obstinate race, at that time for their manifold crimes devoted to destruction, to forget the maxims of Roman clemency. It is certain that those merciful conquerors never spilled so much hostile blood in any of their wars from the first foundation of Rome. The city of Gadara was taken by storm, and reduced to ashes. The garrison and the whole body of the inhabitants perished in the flames. In the mean time Trajan, whose son was afterwards emperor of Rome, was sent at the head of the tenth legion to spread terror and destruction through the country. He laid siege to the city of Japha, and meeting with an obstinate resistance, carried the works by assault. All who were capable of bearing arms, in number not less than fifteen thousand, were put to the sword. The Samaritans, who had collected their forces on Mount Garizim, were treated with the same severity. Cerealis, who afterwards commanded against Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, and also in Britain, had orders to march with three thousand foot and six hundred horse to attack the fastnesses on the hills, and dislodge the enemy. He formed lines of circumvallation round the hill, and by a close blockade cut off all communication with the adjacent country. The Samaritans *were reduced* by famine to the last distress; *yet even in that condition* held out to the last with

determined obstinacy. Cerealis ordered his advance up the hill. The soldiers forced t up the steep ascent, and with resistless va gained the summit. A dreadful carnage Twelve thousand of the Samaritans perishe spot. The city of Gamala was taken by ass the garrison, with all the inhabitants, put to th

Vespasian, during these operations, carrie siege of Jotapata, the strongest place in Josephus, the historian, had been appointed of the province, and he now commanded the determined to make a vigorous defence, and to the last extremity. The particulars of the related by himself, and therefore need not to repeated. It will be sufficient to say that he di all the duties of an able officer, by his own no less than by his spirited exhortations, anim soldiers, and in every part of the works excit to deeds of valor. The siege lasted seven-t days. In one of the approaches to the walls V was wounded by a lance aimed at him from th but he bore the pain with such silent fortitud ill consequence followed. On the forty-sev of the siege, the inhabitants still refusing to c the signal was given for a general assault. the head of a chosen band, scaled the walls the first that entered the town. In that dread it does not appear that Josephus either faced ger, or discharged the functions of a gener Except the women and children, and abou hundred prisoners, all who were found in died in one general carnage. Josephus was a *found* concealed in a cave. Vespasian spare *and the* historian survived to write an accou *siege,* intermixed indeed with some romanti

s, but containing various matter for the informa-
f posterity. The city of Tarichæa, which had
he receptacle of a turbulent and seditious rabble
ll sides of the country, was compelled, after an
ıte resistance, to open her gates to Titus. Ves-
ordered twelve hundred of the most fierce in-
ries to be put to death, as a public example,
ı compliance with Nero's letters, sent six thou-
risoners[1] to work at the isthmus of Corinth.

While Vespasian pursued his conquests, and
: campaign overran the province of Galilee,
was a scene of tumult and distraction. Helius
d like a second emperor: the people called him
rst of the two. Each day produced new proofs
rice, cruelty, and all the vices of an upstart slave.
nators began to awake from their lethargy: the
s of the populace were loud and fierce; rage and
ation glowed in every breast; and the flame was
to mount into a blaze. The freedman saw his
·. He despatched letters to inform the emperor
e urgency of his affairs required his presence at

But Nero's vast designs were of too much
ance. His answer to his favorite was: 'You
me to return to Rome; but whatever your
s are, you ought rather to recommend a longer
e; that I may finish my grand undertaking, and
visit the capital, crowned with immortal glory.'
w the number of laborers sent by Vespasian,
consideration of that timely succor, forgave the
of that victorious general. Corbulo had not the
ortune to be remembered with equal moderation.
tes had mentioned him with the praise due to his

[1] *Josephus says Vespasian supplied Nero with six thou-
sand, all strong young men, chosen out of a vast num-
ber of prisoners.*

virtue and his fame in arms. That commendation was sufficient to provoke the ingratitude of a tyrant who beheld distinguished talents with a jealous eye, and suffered no man to be great and virtuous with impunity. Being at length determined to execute the bloody purpose which he had for some time harbored in secret, he wrote to Corbulo in terms of great esteem and kindness, calling him his friend and benefactor, and expressing his ardent wish to have an interview with a general who had rendered such signal services to the empire. Having sent that insidious invitation, he held a private correspondence with Arrius Varus, who served in Asia; a young man of a daring spirit, in haste to rise by his crimes. To fabricate a charge against his commanding officer he knew would be the way to ingratiate himself with Nero. He sent a formal accusation, loaded with every crime that calumny could suggest. Corbulo fell into the snare. A mind like his, impregnated with honor and heroic fortitude, could admit no suspicion of intended treachery. He embarked without any retinue, and landed at Cenchreæ, a Corinthian harbor in the Ægean sea. Nero was there at the time, dressed in his pantomime garb, and ready to mount the stage, when the arrival of his general officer was announced. He felt the indecency of giving an audience in his comedian's dress to a man whom he respected while he hated him. To free himself from all embarrassment, he took the shortest way, and sent a death warrant. Corbulo saw too late that honesty is too often the dupe of an ignoble mind. He scorned to expostulate. 'I have deserved this,' he said, and fell on his sword.[1]

1 *The* tame submission with which so many brave and eminent men received orders to die fills the mind with astonishment and indignation.

The blood of one great man could not appease the uelty of Nero. Whoever was eminent for talents, :hes, or nobility of birth, was considered as a state iminal. In that number were the two Scribonii, ufus and Proculus, who had lived in perfect har- ony, with mutual esteem and true brotherly affec-)n. Their fortunes were a joint stock. They assisted ch other in the road to honors, and both together se to stations of high authority; the one on the Upper e other on the Lower Rhine. While they discharged eir respective duties with integrity and unwearied al for the public service, Pactius Africanus was eir secret enemy. This man had the ear of Nero, d knew how to transfuse his own malignity into the art of a prince too fatally prone to evil deeds. The irtues of the Scribonii were, by his artful misrepre- ntation, converted into crimes; the happy concord which they lived was a conspiracy against the state; d their fame and credit in the German armies were e means of two ambitious politicians, not the end of eir actions. By conciliating the good-will of the ldiers, they hoped to overturn the government. ero took the alarm, and, under the specious pretence doing honor to the two brothers, invited them to his urt. They obeyed his orders. As soon as they rived in Greece a new scene was opened. An audi- ce was refused: they were forbid to appear in the nperor's presence; suborned accusations were pre- nted in form; and the unhappy brothers found them- lves in the sad condition of state criminals. They sired to be heard in their defence. That act of jus- e was denied. They knew that under a despotic ince the interval between the opening of an accusa-)n and the *catastrophe is* always short. They re- *red not to wait the* tyrant's pleasure, but to deliver

themselves with Roman fortitude from an ignominious death. They opened their veins, and expired together.

The fate of Crassus, who derived an illustrious lineage from Pompey the Great, and Crassus the triumvir, may be mentioned in this place. Historians have not fixed the time of his death with precision; but it is certain that he fell a victim to the cruelty of Nero. Crassus, his father, with Scribonia, his mother, and a brother, who was named Cneius Pompeius Magnus, had been cut off by the emperor Claudius. But the family, in the opinion of Aquileius Regulus, had not shed blood enough. That pernicious informer knew that to be accused was to be condemned. He invented a charge of an atrocious nature, and Crassus shared the fate of his murdered family. He left two brothers; the eldest, Crassus Scribonianus; the youngest, the unfortunate Piso, at that time a banished man, but afterwards adopted by Galba, too soon to fall from that dangerous eminence.

During these bloody tragedies the great business of piercing the isthmus was not neglected. The work began at a place called Lechæum, a sea-port on the Ionian sea. It went on with the most strenuous exertion for a number of days. A trench was dug four stadia in length, which was computed to be a tenth part of the isthmus. But the flame of discord was lighted up at Rome. A storm was gathering in Gaul, and commotions shook every part of the empire. In that crisis, Helius thought fit to leave his associate Polycletus as his vicegerent at Rome, and he himself passed over into Greece. He met Nero at Corinth, and, by giving him, in striking colors, a dreadful *picture* of the state of affairs, enforced the necessity of *returning* to the capital. The grand enterprise was

bandoned, and the Ionian and Ægean seas were left
flow in the direction which nature had appointed.
ut still there was an object that attracted Nero's fond
gard. The time of celebrating the Isthmian games
as near at hand. His favorite passion hurried him
the place. The pugilist and the charioteer banished
om his mind all fear of plots and insurrections. He
ought of the crowns of victory which he had obtained
every quarter. His heart expanded with joy, with
lf-congratulation, and gratitude towards a people who
ıd declared him matchless and unrivalled in all the
ımes and exercises throughout the country. It be-
ɔved so great a conqueror to leave a lasting monu-
ent of munificence and imperial grandeur. Elate
ith pride, and touched with generous sentiments, he
solved to give Greece her liberty. With that design
repaired to the forum. Nor did he suffer his gracious
tention to be uttered by the public crier. Such a gift
quired the accents of his own heavenly voice. He
ıcended the tribunal of harangues, and, having de-
ared Greece a free country, set sail for Italy.

XII. The consuls next in office were Galerius Tra-
ıalus and Silius Italicus. They were both men of
enius; both addicted to study, and distinguished by
ıeir extensive literature. Trachalus[1] was an orator
great celebrity, always copious, and often sublime.
ilius Italicus[2] had also distinguished himself at the

1 Trachalus was an orator of eminence, commended by
ıintilian.

2 In the list of Roman poets, whom Quintilian has criti-
ɔed, no mention is made of Silius Italicus. It is therefore
obable that his work had not appeared when Quintilian
ıblished his Institutes in the reign of Domitian. Silius
ke Lucan *before him*) undertook to make a great historical
ent *the subject of* an epic poem; but departing from the
cedent left by Lucan, he has interwoven with the truth

bar, but not with unblemished reputation. that, under Nero, to be the accuser of inno the road to preferment; but he returned to of virtue, and by his poetry, which he publis wards, transmitted his name to posterity. I consulship Nero returned from Greece, to scene of vice and folly. After a tempestuo he arrived at Naples, where the first displ genius had been seen in their dawn. His now in its meridian lustre. The conquer Olympic, the Pythian, and the Isthmian gam enter the city in triumph; and for this pu

too much of fable, and what the critics call machi poem however has many beautiful passages. raised a considerable fortune, and was possess villas: one that had been the property of Cice other of Virgil. He lived to the age of sevent then put an end to his days by abstinence; being in the stoic school, and by the practice of the ag cide was not against the law of nature. Seneca, t philosopher, has, among many others, the followi 'Live so as to welcome death; and even, if you seek it. Whether it comes to you, or you go to i terial.' It was not understood by Seneca, nor wa of nature strong enough to inform the stoic scho life into which we are called ought to be preser the pleasure of the Supreme Being that gave it. consul gives an account of the death of Silius Ita wards the end of a long life he had contracted a disease, and therefore resolved to close the scen practised at the bar in the beginning of life, an time incurred the disgrace of being a volunta But he afterwards, in a more retired life, retrieve tation. He was a poet, but he wrote with mor genius. He possessed a number of villas, and collection of books, statues, and pictures. He Virgil's birthday, and visited his tomb near Nap were a temple. It was his glory that Nero peri consulship, and by that event the world was deli a monster; Pliny, iii. 7. Martial has left sever in praise of Silius Italicus, whom as it seems and loved.

nues were not sufficient. The occasion re-
mething new and extraordinary. The custom
was to throw down part of the city wall,
conqueror in the sacred games might enter
he breach. Nero ordered an opening to be
imself, and entered the city in a triumphal car,
six milk-white horses. The splendor of the
ded the triumph of Flaminius or Mummius.
obtained victories and subdued a nation;
Roman triumphed over the arts of Greece?
ore Nero was declared the best charioteer,
nest player on the guitar? From Naples he
Antium, his native city, and there displayed
pomp and ceremony. But Rome was the
re his pride was to appear in all its grandeur.
ocession led the way. His crowns of victory
ious games glittered to the eye, and inscrip-
glaring letters, blazoned forth the fame of
first Roman who gained the prize of theatri-
ts. Festive songs and thanksgiving hymns
g, not to Jupiter, the guardian god of Rome,
ollo, the deity of singers and harpers. The
car in which Augustus had been seen was
forth on the occasion. That emperor, after
tories, entered the city in triumph. Nero sat
me carriage, a coachman and a player. Au-
s attended by Agrippa; Nero had by his side
, the musician. The streets resounded with
ions: 'Io! victory! victory in the Olympic,
ian, and the Isthmian games! Io! the con-
Greece! Happy the people who heard that
s voice!' Victims were slain, incense rose
, and flowers covered all the way.
returned to his palace. Pomp and splendor
n end; the scenes of vanity passed away,
s left at leisure to think and to be wretched.

Helius had told him that the conjuncture was big with danger. Plots, insurrections, and conspiracies, filled his mind with dreadful apprehensions. A conspiracy, beyond all question, was actually formed, and ready to break out, had it not been discovered by a trifling accident. It happened that one of the conspirators, towards the close of day passed by the theatre. He saw in one of the porticos a man loaded with fetters, and in bitterness of heart bewailing his unhappy lot. On inquiry it was found that he was to be led into the presence of Nero, which he considered as sure destruction. The conspirator was touched with compassion. He drew nearer to the prisoner, and, to assuage his fears, whispered in his ear, 'Have a good heart; live till to-morrow, and you will have reason to thank me as your deliverer.' These were words of comfort to a wretch who expected instant death. His hopes revived: such welcome tidings filled him with delight and wonder; but wonder was the strongest emotion. The novelty of an incident so unexpected fixed his attention. By what means was he to be delivered from impending ruin? Nothing but a dark conspiracy could bring about such an event. He resolved to reveal all he knew. The merit of a discovery, made in time, would not only secure his life, but lead on to fortune. He desired to be conducted to the prince. The conspirator was immediately seized and put to the torture. His courage was for some time undaunted, unsubdued. He denied the whole of the charge. But protracted misery was too much to bear. His resolution failed. The names of his accomplices were extorted by the violence of pain, and all were condemned to suffer. A scene of blood was laid, and *Nero's* superstition ascribed the discovery of the plot *to the* miraculous interposition of the gods.

Having conquered his enemies, and secured the in-

ıquillity of his reign, he thought it time to ose to his libidinous passions, and pursue his l amusements. For this purpose he removed s, the place of perfect security, and the seat ıre. His halcyon days were soon interrupted. had been for some time gathering in Gaul, atened at length to shake the empire to its ɔn. There was in that part of the empire a f the country, descended from the kings of , by name Julius Vindex. His father had sed by Claudius to the dignity of a senator, ıon was made governor of a province, with the l powers of a Roman propretor. This man, ın army under his command, and without any s, except what he found in his own personal and the generous ardor of an independent ıdertook to free the world from bondage. He ıt an enterprise so bold and daring required peration of the provinces of Gaul and the Ro- ions. With that view he sent dispatches to ıt that time governor of the nethermost Spain, e him a tender of the imperial dignity. Galba his pedigree from the ancient family of the his mother, by her paternal line, was de- from Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth; ıer mother's side, from Quintus Catulus, the l ornament of the old republic. He was con- r Tiberius, in the year of Rome seven hundred ty. He commanded in Germany in the reign la; and afterwards, under Claudius, was pro- f Africa. His illustrious birth, his military

Hither Spain was called Hispania Tarraconensis. rovince Galba received letters from Vindex; re- him *to put himself* at the head of mankind, the *public liberty*; Suet. in Galba, § 9.

fame, and high credit with the legions in every army, pointed him out as the proper person to depose a prince whose cruelty made him detestable, and whose folly rendered even tyranny itself ridiculous. Galba received the dispatches sent by Vindex with the frigid caution of a man far advanced in life. He was more than seventy years old, and that age is not the season of ambition. To slide in quiet through the remainder of his days seemed to be all that he desired from fortune; but, under that outward calm, the sparks of a dying passion were rekindled. And yet the enterprise proposed to him was big with danger, and the issue doubtful. Prudence conspired with indolence, and he remained silent and inactive. The governors of all the other provinces had been, in like manner, solicited to enter into the Gallic league: they hated Nero; but instead of declaring open hostility, they thought it more advisable to provide for their own safety, by sending to Rome the letters which they had received from Vindex. Galba suppressed his in silence. Nero received the news with joy and exultation. His finances, he said, were well-nigh exhausted, and the forfeited estates of the insurgents would be ways and means by which he intended to fill his treasury. He considered Galba's silence as a proof of guilt. Without farther inquiry he confiscated all his property at Rome, and despatched assassins, with orders to put him to death.

Vindex, in the mean time, exerted himself with unremitting vigor to rouse the people of Gaul. He went to the various cities, and lighted up the flame of war in every quarter. He called a public convention of the states, and harangued the assembly, in substance *as follows*: 'We live,' he said, 'not under laws, and *civil* government, but under the will of a single tyrant.

Vice and cruelty lord it over mankind. The provinces groan under the yoke of oppression: our houses are pillaged; our wives and daughters are violated, and our relations basely murdered. Of all our misery Nero is the author. What crime so great that he has not dared to perpetrate? His mother died by his murderous hand. That horrible parricide makes the heart recoil; but Agrippina deserved her fate. She brought a monster into the world. At length the measure of his guilt is full. The east is up in arms; Britain in commotion; and the legions in Spain and Germany are on the eve of a revolt; and shall the nations of Gaul stand lingering in suspense? What consideration is there to restrain your ardor? Shall the titles of Cæsar, of Augustus, of Prince, and Imperator, throw a false lustre round a man who has disgraced his rank, and made majesty ridiculous? These eyes, my friends, these eyes have seen him a fiddler, a mountebank, and a pantomime actor. Instead of his imperial titles, call him Thyestes, Œdipus, Alcmeon, and Orestes. Those names are suited to his crimes. How long are we to submit to such a master? Our forefathers took the city of Rome by storm; and what was their motive? In those days the love of plunder was sufficient to provoke a war. We have a nobler cause; the cause of public liberty. It is that, my friends, it is that glorious cause that now invites us. Let us obey the call, and draw the avenging sword. The nations round us, fired with indignation, are ready to assert their rights. Let them not be the first to prove themselves men. The enterprise has in it all that is dear to man, all that is great in human nature; and shall we not be the first to seize the glorious opportunity? Let us go forth at once, and be the deliverers *of the world.'*

This speech was received with shouts of applause. The deputies, inflamed with ardor in the cause of liberty, returned to their respective cities; a warlike spirit was kindled in the mass of the people; a league was formed, and the din of arms was heard in every part of the country. Galba was informed of all that passed. He also knew that he was proscribed by Nero, and that his effects were sold by public auction. The tide of affairs rushed on with a swell that overpowered a mind by nature indolent, and enfeebled by age. In the number of Galba's friends Titus Vinius was the only person that endeavored to rouse his drooping spirit. To hesitate in such a juncture appeared to him a privation of mind nothing short of madness. The only question, he said, was, which was most eligible, to act in conjunction with Vindex, or to wage war against him; against a man who wished to depose a tyrant, and call to the succession a prince who possessed the virtues of humanity? Galba saw the necessity of taking a decided part; but his natural irresolution was not easily conquered. He wished to sound the inclinations of the people, and for that purpose summoned a grand council to meet him at New Carthage, in order, as he pretended, to settle the manumission of slaves. His friends knew that greater matters were in agitation, and accordingly spread a general alarm. On the day appointed an incredible multitude assembled from all parts of the country. Galba ascended the tribunal, prepared by a well-imagined artifice to speak at once to the eye and the ear. The images of the most illustrious of both sexes who had fallen a sacrifice to Nero's cruelty were ranged in regular order round the council-chamber. The silent *eloquence* of that pathetic scene he knew would assist *the orator*, and inflame the passions of his audience.

;an his harangue without the usual approaches
udied introduction. The business was of the
portance, and he rushed into it at once with
ı and vehemence. He painted forth the horrors
ɔ's reign, the acts of oppression that laid waste
vinces, and the murders that thinned the noblest
ı. If proofs were necessary, he looked round
l, 'and behold,' he said, 'behold there, in
colors, the evidence of the worst iniquity.
not of Nero by my words: view him with your
'es. Those images inform against him. Lo!
he ghastly features of the murdered Cæsars!
e Nero's mother, brother, and sister! his wife,
ıt, his nearest relations! his wretched friends!
chered, all destroyed, by the sword, by famine,
ɜon, by every villany! Direct your eyes to
wall: you there behold Burrhus, Lateranus,
ıs, Cassius, and Lucius Vetus, with a long train
first men in Rome! They suffered for their
and their virtues. Nor is this all: think of
ıtive genius: call to mind the men born in Spain
ɪre the ornaments of Roman literature, and an
ɔo their country. There lies Seneca,[1] the en-
ɜd philosopher: he bleeds in a bath, and with
breath teaches the precepts of wisdom! Your
oet, Lucan, whose bosom glowed with the love
lom, repeats his own immortal verses, and ex-
His father, Annæus Mela, falls a victim be-
ıe was the brother of your great philosopher,
father of such a son. Survey that group: you
ıere Pætus Thrasea, and Bareas Soranus, who
rtue itself. See that train of illustrious women:

[1] ɜca and his brother Annæus Mela were born at Cor-
Spain. *Lucan the poet* was a native of the same

Sextia, Pollutia, and Servilia, all led t
That boy is Rufinus Crispinus,[1] the son of
her first husband; and notwithstanding hi
and innocence, they dash him from a rock
Behold this youth,[2] whom I have brough
from one of the Balearic islands, where
demned to live in exile. He is too young
nature of a crime or his own wretched lot.
citizen, and, behold! he is banished from
These are the exploits of Nero. Vindex
taken to be the deliverer of his country,
and all Spain, I am willing to brave ev
My commission is from the senate and
people. I disclaim the authority of Nero
is no longer emperor. I know that by hi
judged to death; but, if you resolve to
rights, if you make a common cause with
glorious struggle, I am willing to close
your service.' This speech inflamed th
with uncommon ardor. The place reso
acclamations, and Galba was saluted emper
His modesty, or his prudence, made him
title. He desired to be called the genera
nate and the Roman people.

1 Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Poppæa by l
band. He was used, among his playfellows, to
of a general, or an emperor, and for that boyis
was ordered to be drowned in the sea; Suet. in

2 Suetonius says Galba, holding a general c
New Carthage in Spain, under pretence of pre
manumission of slaves, placed around the cou
or images of several who had fallen victims to N
and in the midst of his harangue presented to t
noble youth, who had been banished to the r
island (now Majorca), and was brought from
exile to be exhibited as an object of compass
Galba, § 10.

these transactions Nero remained at Naples,
ted to his favorite amusements; enchanting
nd the public with his harp, and chiefly in-
ringing to perfection an hydraulic organ[1] on
nstruction, which he promised to produce on
. But that gay serenity was soon overcast.
rrived from Spain and Gaul. In the former,
d thrown off the mask; in the latter, Vindex
e head of a powerful army. Nero shuddered
ws: indignation soon succeeded: he threat-
unish the rebels with death. His frivolous
took their turn: he went to see the athletic
, and tuned his guitar. In that manner he
ght or ten days: no orders given; no letter
ate; not a word escaped from him: he smo-
l in sullen silence. Fresh tidings arrived
ul: the proclamations which Vindex pub-
every quarter were delivered to him. He
nself called, in a style of contempt, Ænobar-
a vile comedian. Enraged at the indignity
o his talents, he started up in a sudden fury,
d the banqueting-table, wrote to the senate
he strength of the empire, and, to fire them
ignation, added in pathetic terms, 'Judge
s, conscript fathers, judge of the insolence of
in his own words see the malignity of that

called a council of his favorites, and, after a short
on the state of affairs, passed the rest of the day in
ome musical instruments which, on a new con-
were kept in play by the operation of water. He
the principles of that ingenious piece of mecha-
laring his resolution to exhibit it on the stage, if
ould give him leave.
was the son of Domitius Ænobarbus. He thought
ragement to be called by his paternal name; but
rsged him so much as to find himself railed at as a
nd harper.

audacious rebel. He has dared impiously
I have a bad voice, and play ill on the
complaint of that importance could not fail
impression on the fathers. They passed a
claring Galba a public enemy, and promi
ward of ten millions of sesterces for the he
dex. The Gaul, with superior magnanimi
his own head to whoever should bring h
Nero. If he freed the world from a monste
value on his own life: he then would die c

Virginius Rufus, who at that time com
the Upper Rhine, had received orders t
field against the rebels in Gaul. Whether
aspired to the imperial dignity seems to be
not solved by any of the historians. It is
the legions, seeing the miseries occasioned
tyranny, and at length disgusted by the c
frolics of an emperor, who rendered it ri
obey him, made a tender of the empire to
general, whom they respected for his milit
and the virtues of moderation. Virginius d
offer. If he nourished ambition in his heart
it best to suppress it in that juncture, and v
ture events. It belonged, he said, to the sen
senate only, not to the legions, to dispose o
reignty. Whatever were his views he still
true Roman spirit, and with indignation s
chieftain and his conquered countrymen j
league to give an emperor to the mistress of
He resolved to collect his forces and marc
of the enemy. Gaul was far from acting w
of union. Internal dissensions divided the
contending factions. The Sequani, the *A*
Arverni, followed the banners of Vindex.
gones and the people of Rheims, accusto

and hating the opposite party, declared for
The cities of Vienne and Lyons, which lay
ɹuous, renewed their ancient animosity: the
r enlisting on the side of Vindex; the latter, with
ended regard for their oath of fidelity, espousing
ause of Nero. In that disposition of the public
Virginius entered Gaul at the head of his legions,
ı strong reinforcement of Belgic auxiliaries, and
ataviau cohorts. He proceeded by rapid marches
esontium, a city in league with Vindex. The
itants refused to open their gates. Virginius
ed his camp, determined to lay siege to the place.
ex advanced to the relief of his confederates.
two armies were in sight of each other. The
c chieftain, little doubting that the Roman gene-
opinion of Nero coincided with his own, thought
ident before he tried the issue of a battle to nego-
by his deputies. He accordingly made his over-
. Various messengers passed between the two
ıanders, and an interview at last took place. The
t was an agreement of some kind, but what were
erms it is fruitless now to inquire. History has
ıs in the dark. All that can be related with cer-
y is, that Virginius began to withdraw his forces,
Vindex with his army made his approach to the
ı of the town. The legions saw the motions of the
y, and, imagining that they meant to offer battle,
ved to begin the attack. The armies of the Upper
the Lower Rhine were not inured to discipline.
e, and disdaining all control, they wanted no
rs from their general. A desperate engagement
wed. The Gauls were unprepared, but their cou-
braved every danger. Both sides fought with
tuous *fury; the* Gauls resenting the treachery of
enemies, the Romans stimulated by their inve-

terate animosity. Blood and carnage covered all the plain. The legions cut their way with dreadful slaughter, till the Gauls, having lost no less than twenty thousand of their bravest troops, and seeing inevitable destruction on every side, betook themselves to flight. Vindex exerted himself in every quarter of the field to prevent the massacre: but his efforts were in vain. He saw the slaughter of his people, and concluded that Virginius had betrayed him and the cause of liberty. His enterprise defeated, and no hopes of conquest left, he resolved not to survive a calamity so unexpected. He fell on his sword, and died on the field of battle.

Meanwhile all Spain was in commotion. Galba was employed in schemes of future grandeur. He raised a new legion, mustered forces in all quarters, and with his utmost art and industry allured the different states to his interest. Cornelius Fuscus, a young man of illustrious birth, went over to Galba, and drew with him the province of which he was governor. But the great accession of strength was from Lusitania. Otho, who had been the favorite of Nero, and his constant companion in all his scenes of riot and debauchery, had been for some years at the head of that province. He was appointed to that station, as the reader may remember, under color of doing him honor, but in fact to remove a rival whom Nero dreaded, and to leave him at a distance from Rome in a state of honorable banishment. Otho considered himself as no better than a state prisoner in a remote part of the empire. Resentment prompted him to revenge; and ambition like his was eager to come forth from obscurity, and *act* a principal part on the great stage of public business. He melted down all his massy gold and silver; and having converted it into coin, went with his whole

ure and the forces of his province to support the
prise of an old man, who he knew, in the course
ture, could not long enjoy the supreme authority.
other governors and propretors followed his ex-
e. The Roman empire seemed to be transferred
pain. Nero was at last sensible of his danger.
ordered the legions in Illyricum to advance by
l marches into Italy: he recalled the troops that
been sent against the Albanians to the borders of
Caspian sea; and he expected the fourteenth le-
, then in Britain, to come without loss of time to
assistance. Distracted by the news that filled all
r, he forgot his hydraulic organ, and returned to
ıe covered with consternation. His fears were
ı dispersed. Letters from Virginius Rufus arrived
ome. The death of Vindex, and the total over-
w of his army, transported Nero beyond all bounds
oy. He called for his musical instruments: he
d his harp, and warbled songs of triumph.
ı Spain the minds of men were affected in a very
rent manner. Galba saw an unexpected reverse
ortune. He blamed his own imprudence, and ac-
d the folly of an old man who, at the close of life,
weak enough to listen to the call of ambition. To
if possible to retrieve his affairs, he sent dispatches
irginius Rufus, inviting him to a participation of
nsels and of future grandeur. The offer was re-
ed. It was a maxim with Rufus that the senate
people had the sole right of creating an emperor.
civil power, he said, in every well-constituted
ernment ought to be supreme: to obey is the vir-
of a soldier. Galba had no resource left. Half
cavalry showed themselves alienated from his ser-
, and were retained with difficulty. Dejected,
eless, and expecting certain destruction from the

assassins employed by Nero, he retired to the city of Clunia, and there relapsed into his former indolence.

XIII. Nero was now at the summit of his wishes. He triumphed in the pride of his imagination over all his enemies. He had seen on his way from Naples a monumental sculpture, representing a Gaul overcome by a Roman soldier, and dragged along the ground by the hair of his head. The gods, he said, presented that object to him as an omen of victory, and their decree was happily fulfilled. Amidst all his frantic joy, his worst enemies were in his own breast. His vices were undermining him with the army as well as the people. He raised immoderate supplies of money, and squandered the whole with wild profusion. An occurrence happened by which the city was thrown into a violent ferment. A ship arrived from Alexandria, supposed to be loaded with corn, and therefore matter of joy to the populace, who dreaded a dearth of provisions. It may be easily imagined what a turn their passions took when it was known that the vessel brought a freight of sand from the banks of the Nile, to smooth the arena for wrestlers and gladiators. The disappointment excited at first a laugh of scorn and indignation; vulgar wit and scurrilous jests made Nero an object of contempt; and from contempt the transition to hatred, rage, and fury, is always sure, and often instantaneous. The public clamor was loud and violent: the people with one voice wished to be delivered from a monster: they lamented the loss of Vindex; and the pretorian guards, who had been the support of a pernicious reign, began to murmur discontent, and to show manifest symptoms of disaffection.

Nymphidius and Tigellinus, who had often figured

ıes of public iniquity, were joint prefects of the
ian camp. The former, as has been mentioned,
he son of a woman who prostituted herself to
laves and freedmen of the emperor Claudius.
ıg recommended himself by his vices to the
of Nero, he had the ambition to be thought the
of an intrigue between his mother Nymphidia
'aligula. Nymphidius and his colleague Tigel-
acted in concert, and jointly exerted their per-
ıs talents. They saw the disposition of the sol-
and with the ingratitude of men who had raised
elves by their crimes, thought the opportunity
o strike a stroke of perfidy. They began by
ı to insinuate themselves into the affections of the
rian guards, and when they had sufficiently pre-
them for a revolt, whispered to the senate, that
was deserted on every side; that he had not a
l left; and that, by consequence, the whole legis-
authority was in the hands of the fathers. That
ıbly remained for some time in suspense; timid,
:ing, and irresolute. The conjuncture was dark
loomy. Nero was alarmed: he paused from his
ıres, and saw that some deep design was in agi-
ı. To prevent it by one bold effort, he formed a
ıtion to massacre the senate, and after setting
ɔ the city a second time, to let loose his whole
tion of wild beasts, to devour the people in the
al consternation, and save himself by flying into
t. This horrible scheme was no sooner conceived
brought to light by one of his favorite eunuchs.
miscreant had been for some time subservient
ɜ vices of his master, and lived with him in the
st intimacy. From a person so beloved nothing
:oncealed. He was the confidential friend of the
or, not only in scenes of riot, but also in the

most important counsels. But the jealousy of an upstart, raised above his base condition, is easily alarmed. The favorite[1] thought himself slighted. His pride was roused, and, to revenge the injury, he discovered the particulars of the intended massacre.

A design so black and horrible raised the general indignation. The fathers trembled for themselves; but the habit of slavery had debased their faculties. They saw that no time was to be lost, and yet could not resolve to act with vigor. Nymphidius tried by every means to inspire them with zeal and courage. He had seduced the pretorian guards, and to secure their affections, promised in Galba's name, but without his authority, a reward of thirty thousand sesterces to each pretorian, and five thousand to each legionary soldier throughout the armies of the empire; a sum so prodigious, that, as Plutarch observes, it could not be raised without worse tyranny, and more violent rapine, than had been felt during the whole reign of Nero. The promise proved afterwards fatal to Galba, but served the purposes of a man who was bent on the ruin of Nero, and by raising the military above the civil authority, intended to introduce into the political system two pernicious maxims: the first, that emperors were to be created in the camp, not in the senate; and, secondly, that the imperial dignity was venal, to be for the future set up to sale, and disposed of by the soldiers to the highest bidder.

Having settled his measures, and laid the plan of a revolution, he did not as yet think it time to throw off the mask; but to complete his work, chose to proceed by fraud and dissimulation. He went with Tigellinus

1 The wild and desperate projects conceived by Nero in *his frantic* moments, and brought to light by a favorite eunuch, are recorded by Suetonius, in Nero, § 43.

ıe palace, and, with an air of deep affliction, in-
ed Nero of his danger. 'All,' he said, 'is lost:
›eople, assembled in seditious tumults, call aloud
vengeance: the pretorian guards abandon your
e; and the senate is ready to pronounce a dreadful
ment. You have only one expedient left, and
is, to make your escape, and seek a retreat in
pt.' In this manner the two men who had been
›d from the dregs of the people left their bene-
›r. In all his scenes of vice and cruelty they had
ı his chief abettors, and they now abandoned him
is utmost need.

ero saw the sad reverse of his affairs. From his
ies he could expect no support. The troops on
: march towards the Caspian sea had been re-
›d, but a long repose was necessary to revive the
its of men well-nigh exhausted by incessant fa-
e. The legions from Illyricum returned with alie-
d minds. Scorning to disguise their sentiments,
· sent a deputation to Virginius on the Upper
ne, expressing their ardent desire that he would
l to the request of the legions under his command,
accept the imperial dignity. Eight Batavian co-
s had shown a spirit of disaffection, and the pre-
ın guards were under the influence of Nymphidius.
his desperate situation Nero looked round for as-
ınce; but he looked in vain. He wandered through
apartments of his palace, and all was solitude.
who but a few days before was the god of the
te and the people, was now in dread of being their
m. Conscience began to exercise her rights. Her
e was heard. Nero reviewed his crimes, and
ldered with horror and remorse. He repeated in
ıair and anguish of heart a line which, when
›nating *Œdipus*, he had often declaimed on the

public stage: 'My wife, my father, and my mother, doom me dead.' Of all his courtier-fry, and all his instruments of guilt, not one adhered to him in the hour of distress; except Sporus the eunuch; Phaon, an enfranchised slave; and Epaphroditus, his secretary. He gave orders to the soldiers on duty to proceed with all expedition to Ostia, and prepare a ship, that he might embark for Egypt. The men were not willing to obey. One of them asked him in half a line from Virgil, 'Is it then so wretched a thing to die?' He went to the Servilian gardens, carrying with him a phial of swift-speeding poison, which had been prepared by the well-known Locusta:[1] but his resolution failed. He returned to his chamber, and threw himself on his bed. The agitations of his mind allowed no rest. He started up, and called for some friendly hand to end his wretched being. That office no one was willing to perform, and he himself wanted fortitude. Driven to the last despair, and frantic with remorse and fear, he cried out in doleful accents, 'My friends desert me, and I cannot find an enemy.' He rushed forth from his palace, as if with intent to throw himself into the Tiber. He changed his mind, and thought of flying into Spain, there to surrender at discretion to the mercy of Galba. But no ship was ready at Ostia. Various projects presented themselves to his mind in quick succession, increasing the tumult of his passions, and serving only to distract him more. To try his powers of eloquence was another expedient that occurred to him. For that pur-

1 Locusta has been mentioned, Annals, xiii. 15. Suetonius says that Nero received a dose of poison from Locusta, *which* he carried with him into the Servilian gardens. Not *having* courage to use it, he endeavored to find Spicillus, the *gladiator*, or some person, to kill him.

ose he proposed to go forth in a mourning garb to ie forum, and there, by a pathetic speech, obtain his ardon from the people. Should their obdurate hearts emain impenetrable to the soft influence of persuasive ratory, and refuse to reinstate their emperor in the ull enjoyment of his prerogative, he had no doubt but e could, at the worst, wring from them the governnent of Egypt, where, in the character of prefect, he night give free scope to his inordinate passions. This project seemed to promise success; but a ray of reflection struck him with sudden horror. The populace, without waiting to hear the divine accents of that harmonious voice, might break out into open sedition, and in their fury tear their prince limb from limb. What course could he pursue? Where could he hide himself? He looked round in wild despair, and asked his remaining companions, 'Is there no lurking-place? no safe recess, where I may have time to consider what is to be done?' Phaon, his freedman, proposed to conduct him to an obscure villa, which he held in his possession, at the distance of about four miles from Rome.

Nero embraced the offer. There was no time to be lost. He went forth in all his wretchedness; without a shoe to his feet; nothing on him but his close tunic; no outside garment; and no imperial robe. In order to disguise himself, he snatched an old rusty cloak, and, throwing it over his shoulders, covered his head, and held a handkerchief before his face. In that condition he mounted his horse, submitting with a dastard spirit to an ignominious flight, without any attendants except Phaon the freedman; Epaphroditus, the secretary; and Sporus, the eunuch; with another, whose name *Aurelius Victor* says was Neophytus. In this *manner Nero passed* the last of his nights. At the

dawn of day the pretorian guards deserted station at the palace, and joined their comrades camp, where, by the influence and direction of phidius, Galba was proclaimed emperor. The met, and after a short debate confirmed the n tion of the pretorian guards. The time was at arrived when that assembly could act with aut They resolved to mark the day by a decree wo a Roman senate. With one voice they declar tyrant who had trampled on all laws human and a public enemy,[1] and by their sentence cond him to suffer death according to the rigor of a laws and the practice of the old republic.

1 See Suetonius in Nero, § 49: 'Hostem a senatu tum, et quæri ut puniatur more majorum.' It is imp to read this passage without feeling a thousand mixe tions. We acknowlege the justice of the sentence; w that vengeance was due to the perpetrator of so ma rible crimes; and we rejoice to find that the senat resume its long-forgotten dignity, and act even for a d a becoming spirit. The interests of humanity requir the world should be delivered from such a monster.

The case is very different when Louis XVI. is c appear before a French Convention. We see the mos volent of men tried by an assembly of assassins, plun levellers, and atheists; by the scum and dregs of mixed with the refuse of other nations. When a go virtuous, an upright and blameless monarch is sen contrary to every principle of truth and justice, to st a criminal; indignation is for the moment lost in as ment at the daring guilt of men, who have emerge obscurity to be the tyrants of their country; a Pander of regicides! France was then left without church o without law or morals; without a constitution, and v humanity. The nations of Europe shudder with horro bloody tragedy that has been acted. The virtues wh murdered king displayed, with wonderful meekness, throne, in prison, and on the scaffold, are now known *world*. They will be transmitted to the latest posteri

> Will plead, like angels trumpet-tongued, against
> The deep damnation of his taking off.

V. Nero, in the mean time, made the best of his towards the freedman's villa. He heard the pre- a camp ring with acclamations, and the name of a sounded in his ear. A man at work in a field ning to the road started up at the sound of horse- pressing forward with expedition, and, 'Behold!' aid, 'those people are hot in pursuit of Nero.' her asked, 'What do they say of Nero in the ' As they drew near to Phaon's house Nero larmed by a sudden accident. His horse started lead carcass that lay on the side of the road; and eil, in consequence of the violent motion, falling his face, a veteran, who had been dismissed from ervice, knew his master, and saluted him by his . The fear of being detected made the fugitive e and his followers push forward with their ut- speed. Being arrived at a small distance from ouse, they did not think it safe to enter it in a c manner. Nero dismounted and crossed a field rown with reeds. Phaon advised him to lie con- d in a sand-pit till he prepared a subterraneous ge into the house. 'That,' said Nero, 'were to myself alive.' He scooped up some water out muddy ditch, and, having allayed his thirst, asked loleful tone, 'Is that the beverage to which Nero een used?' An opening was made in the wall on side of the mansion, and Nero crept through it. as conducted to a chamber, where he saw nothing retchedness. In that mean room he threw him- on a meaner bed,[1] and asked for some nourish-

[1] He took some water out of a ditch and drank it, saying, 'Haec est Neronis decocta.' Being taken into the house, creeping on his hands and knees through a hole that was made for him, he lay on a mean bed, with a tattered coverlet thrown over it, and being both hungry and thirsty, he refused

ment. They offered him bread; but it was so black, that his stomach sickened at the sight. The water was foul; but thirst obliged him to swallow the nauseous draught. His friends saw that no hope was left: they dreaded his impending ruin, and advised him to rescue himself by one manly deed from an ignominious death. Nero signified his assent; but he studied delay, fond to linger still in life. Preparations for his funeral were necessary. He ordered a trench to be dug, suited to the dimensions of his body; a quantity of wood to be collected for the funeral pile: and pieces of marble to be brought to form a decent covering for his grave. He bewailed his unhappy lot: tears gushed at intervals: he heaved a piteous sigh, and said to his friends, 'What a musician the world will lose!'

During this scene of delay and cowardice a messenger, according to Phaon's orders, arrived with papers from Rome. Nero seized the packet. He read with eagerness, and found himself not only declared a public enemy, but condemned to suffer death with the rigor of ancient usage. He asked, 'What kind of death is that? and what is ancient usage?' He was told, that by the law of the old republic, every traitor, with his head fastened between two stakes, and his body intirely naked, suffered the pains of a slow death under the lictor's rod. The fear of that ignominious punishment inspired Nero with a short-lived passion, which for the moment had the appearance of courage. He drew two daggers which he had brought with him, and, as if meditating some prodigious deed, tried the points of both; then calmly replaced them in their scabbards, saying, 'The fatal moment is not yet

some coarse bread that was brought to him, but drank a little water.

ome.' He turned to Sporus, and requested him to egin the funeral lamentation. 'Sing the melancholy irge; and offer the last obsequies to your friend.' le cast his eyes around him: 'And why,' he said, why will not some one despatch himself, and teach ie how to die?' He paused for a moment, and shed flood of tears. He started up, and cried out, in a one of wild despair, 'Nero, this is infamy; you inger in disgrace: this is no time for dejected pas-ions; the moment calls for manly fortitude.'

Those words were no sooner uttered than he heard he sound of horses advancing with speed towards he house. This he signified by repeating a line from Homer. The fact was, the senate had given orders hat he should be brought back to Rome to undergo he judgment which they had pronounced; and the officers charged with that commission were near at and. Nero seized his dagger, and stabbed himself in he throat. The stroke was too feeble. Epaphroditus ent his assistance, and the next blow was a mortal wound. A centurion entered the room, and seeing Nero in a mangled condition, ran immediately to his assistance, pretending that he came with a friendly and to bind the wound, and save the emperor's life. Nero had not breathed his last. He raised his languid eyes, and faintly said, 'You come too late: is this your fidelity?' He spoke and expired. The ferocity of his nature was still visible in his countenance. His eyes fixed and glaring, and every feature swelled with warring passions; he looked more stern, more grim and terrible than ever.

Nero died in the thirty-second year of his age, on he eleventh day of June, after a reign of thirteen years, seven months, and twenty-eight days. The *ews was received at* Rome with all demonstrations of y. *The populace* ran wild about the streets, with

the cap of liberty on their heads.[1] The forum sounded with acclamations. Icelus, a freedman, who managed Galba's affairs at Rome, had been thrown into prison by Nero; but, on the sudden accession of his master, he was now become a man in power and high authority. He consented that Nero's body should be committed to the flames at the place where he died. The funeral rites were performed without delay and without pomp. His remains were conveyed to the monumental vault of the Domitian family, his paternal ancestors. The urn was carried by two female servants, and Acte, the famous concubine. The secrecy with which the obsequies were performed was the cause of some untoward consequences that afterwards disturbed the commonwealth. A doubt remained in the minds of many whether Nero had not made his escape into Asia or Egypt. The men who, under a corrupt and profligate reign, had led a life of pleasure, and were by consequence enamored of Nero's vices, paid every mark of respect to his memory, willing at the same time to believe that he still survived. They raised a tomb, and for several years dressed it with the flowers of spring and summer. The Parthians honored his memory; and being afterwards deluded by an impostor who assumed the name of Nero, were ready, with the strength of their nation, to espouse his cause. The race of Cæsars ended with Nero: he was the last and perhaps the worst of that illustrious house.

XV. In that age, when the public mind was overcast with gloomy apprehensions and religious fear, superstition saw portents and prodigies in the most common accidents, and no great event was suffered to

1 *The* public joy was so great that the people ran to and *fro, with* caps on their heads.

without a train of awful prognostics. Rivers
said to have changed their course, and to have
d in a new direction to their fountain-head: a
that had stood for ages, coeval with the founda-
of Rome, fell suddenly to the ground: the laurel
ed by Livia, which had spread with such pro-
us increase, that in every triumph it supplied
Cæsars with their victorious wreaths, withered at
oot: the temple of the Cæsars being struck with
ning, the heads of all the statues tumbled down
ce; and the marble sceptre fell from the hands of
ustus. By these and such like denunciations the
of the gods was supposed to be revealed, and the
lace with frantic joy hailed the auspicious era
turning liberty. But no public spirit remained;
virtue was extinguished. A people who had
taught to crouch under the yoke of bondage
ght no more of a free constitution. With the
inconstancy of a fickle multitude they relapsed
heir habitual servitude, and in a strain of frantic
re began to roar for a new master. The name of
a echoed through the streets of Rome, and filled
retorian camp with shouts of joy, and the warm-
xpressions of zeal and ardor for his service. The
rian guards thought of nothing but the donative
ised in his name; and Nymphidius, the author of
measure, had no doubt but the soldiers, in due
would show themselves devoted to the man who
their minds with the dazzling prospect of reward
ily great and magnificent. The liberality was his,
he difficulty of carrying it into execution would
n Galba.

lus, the favorite freedman of Galba, made it his
ess to see Nero's dead body, and having enabled
f to be an eye-witness of the fact, set out for

Clunia in Spain, to inform his master that raised to the imperial seat by the voice of torians and the concurrent decree of the Nymphidius seized the opportunity to figu principal actor on the theatre of public busin had accomplished a great and sudden revolut being high in favor with the pretorian guar it easy to overawe the senate, and make that pliant assembly bend to his will and pleasu consuls, without consulting the arrogant mini their dispatches to Galba, with the decree h he was declared emperor. This was consid this new man as a mark of disrespect, and it difficulty that the magistrates appeased his tion. Flushed with success, and proud of plots, he began to enlarge his views, and pr ously to form schemes of vast ambition. U emperor of the age of seventy-three, worn c cares, and weary of public business, he flatte self that he should be able, under the appea being the second in the state, to wrest into hands the supreme authority; and should Ga firmities sink under the fatigue of a long jou had the hardiness to aspire to the succession. conceived this mad project, he resolved to every obstacle, and with that view compelled nus to resign his commission of pretorian A colleague, acting with himself in joint au might retard the execution of his designs. consular rank, who had commanded armies a verned provinces, did not blush to pay their c him. The senate acted with the same servile tion. They crowded to his levee, and suffered *prescribe* the form and substance of every *that* passed. The populace broke out with

d Nymphidius, effectually to seduce the vul-
l, encouraged the madness of the times. The
ınd statues of Nero were dragged through the
ınd dashed to pieces. A crew of vile incen-
pread consternation through the city: a scene
and massacre followed, and the innocent fell
:omiscuous carnage with the guilty. Mauricus
:he frensy of the multitude with such inward
that he could not help saying in the senate,
take care that we have not reason to regret
of Nero.'
ıhidius soon perceived that his hopes of being
r statesman in power, and of governing the
world in the emperor's name, could not be
ıed with any prospect of success. He knew
in intelligence that Vinius, Laco, and Icelus,
e men[1] who stood highest in the esteem of
The scheme of supplanting them was there-
ındoned: but it made way for a project of the
:ing ambition. He was resolved to depose the
whom he himself had created, and by another
on to seize the imperial dignity. To forward
ign he sent dispatches to Galba, stating the
of entering the city at a time when the whole
was in convulsions. Rome, he said, was in a

read in Suetonius that Galba was governed by
vorites; Titus Vinius, his lieutenant in Spain;
s Laco, who was advanced to the command of the
ı guards; and his freedman Icelus, who was dig-
th the privilege of wearing a ring, and the name of
ıs. To these men Galba resigned himself with such
confidence, that his conduct was never consistent;
ne frugal and rigorous; at another remiss, comply-
more lavish than became a prince of his advanced
o had been raised to the imperial dignity by the
the people; Suet. in Galba, § 14. For more of the
rites, see the History, i. 6. 13.

ferment: Clodius Macer excited a rebellio
the German armies were disaffected, and t
Syria and Judea prepared to dispute w
torian guards the right of creating an e
the mean time a dark conspiracy was form
phidius planned his measures with dispatc
determined to seize the supreme power.
into his league a number of both sexes,
consideration and extensive influence. Cl
sus was his intimate friend: but he saw
the enterprise, and with freedom and since
Nymphidius to desist from a wild attemp
he could not expect the support of the pe
senate. 'There is not,' he said, 'a singl
Rome willing to give the name of Cæsar t
Nymphidia.' That remonstrance had no effe
inflamed with the fever of wild ambition.
dius called a meeting of his party. All agr
time was to be lost. They resolved to strik
that very night, and to conduct Nymphic
pretorian camp, where they had no doubt b
voice he would be declared emperor of I
such an occasion it was necessary that
raised to that elevation should be prepared
the soldiers in a suitable style. Cingoniu
corrupt and venal orator, composed a spee
purpose, and the illiterate emperor was to
self with borrowed eloquence.

The design of the conspirators was not s
cealed, but it reached the ear of Antonius I
a tribune in the camp, who had acquired a g
tary character, and was besides respected f
blemished honor and unshaken fidelity. T
close of day he called a meeting of the pretc
after laying open in detail all the circu

ıe plot, delivered a speech in substance as follows: How long, my fellow-soldiers, shall our folly, our adness, or our evil genius, hurry us on from one eason to another? A few days only have elapsed ıce you deposed Nero. In that business you behaved ıe men who felt for the public good. You had every ovocation, and the crimes of that flagitious tyrant stified the act. You are recent from that revolution, d wherefore do you want another? You declared : Galba, and why now abandon him? Why, with heard-of treachery, betray the emperor whom you urselves created? Has he been guilty of parricide? as he murdered his mother and destroyed his wife? as he exposed the imperial dignity to contempt and licule? Has he tuned his harp on the stage, or iven the curricle in the race? And yet, notwithanding all the flagitious deeds of that hardened monar, in spite of all his vices, we supported him, blushg indeed for his follies, and smarting under his ranny. We adhered to him with fidelity; and if in e end we thought fit to create another emperor, ymphidius was the author of that measure. By his tifices we were taught to believe that Nero deserted i first, and fled to Egypt. We concluded that he had ıdicated, and by consequence what we did was an :t of necessity. And what is our design at present? Vhat do we wish? What do we aim at? Must Galba ll a sacrifice to appease the manes of Nero? Shall a escendant from the family of the Servii; a relation of uintus Catulus, and by ties of affinity connected with ivia, the wife of Augustus; say, my fellow-soldiers, ıall such a man be deposed and murdered, to make ay for the son of Nymphidia? It was his treachery, is base *ingratitude, that* occasioned the death of Nero: *t him suffer the justice* due to his crime; and let us

give proof of our fidelity. Let us deserve th
of Galba, by delivering him from a traitor.'

This speech made an impression on the
One mind, one sentiment, pervaded the who
Galba was their emperor, and they would ac
no other. This was followed by a general shou
phidius heard the sound, and proceeded to t
Whether he thought that the acclamations o
were in his favor, or that his presence was
to quell an insurrection, cannot now be kno
went attended by a numerous train, and a
torches, with the speech composed for him
gonius Varro, ready in his hand to be read
the soldiers. The gates of the camp were
guards were stationed on the ramparts. Ny
desired to know by whose order they we
arms? The men answered with one voice,
armed in the cause of Galba, and we know
emperor.' Nymphidius had not the prudence
from the walls. Dissimulation he thought wo
his design. He commended the zeal of the p
and assured them that he and his followers
avowed friends of Galba. The sentinels op
gates. Nymphidius entered with some of his
the pass was immediately secured; and the
attacked him sword in hand. He endeavore
himself in a tent, but was pursued, and mas
the spot. His body on the following day wa
through the camp, a spectacle for public vie
was the end of a low-born base incendiary,
that, in the general profligacy of the times,
were the willing dupes of the wicked. By
league with the most abandoned, he flattere
that the lowest of mankind, who in better tir
not hope to be intrusted with the rank of

nturion, might boldly aspire to make himself master the Roman empire.

XVI. An account of all that passed was conveyed Galba with incredible speed. By his order, all who ere suspected of taking a part in the mad projects of ymphidius were seized, and, without farther in- iry, or any form of trial, put to death. Cingonius arro, at that time consul elect, was in the number; d, what was very extraordinary, Mithridates the throned king of Pontus, who had surrendered to laudius, and from that time lived at Rome, was hur- ed to execution without being heard in his defence. etronius Turpilianus was another unhappy victim. e had been chosen by Nero to command his armies; d, though he never went from Rome to execute his mmission, the very appointment was deemed a suf- ient crime. These bloody executions were inauspi- ous in the opening of a new reign. The cruelty of ero seemed to be renewed, when the people expected milder government, and a regular administration of w and justice. The fate of Turpilianus filled the city ith murmurs of discontent. It was known that Ti- llinus presided at the execution; and that a man of orth and honor should bleed under the eye of a de- sted miscreant appeared to be a continuation of the te reign, and the triumph of vice over every virtue.

Galba set out from Spain, proceeding by slow arches, and still wearing the military robe of a eneral officer, with a dagger hanging from his neck own to his breast. Strong suspicion, a sense of in- ries, and dark mistrust, with other passions unworthy f a prince, lay lurking in his heart. Before he began is journey Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Mar- llus, two governors of provinces in Spain, who had own no inclination to his party, were put to death

by his order. Betuus Chilo met with the same fate in Gaul. Dispatches were also sent to Garrucianus in Africa, commanding the immediate execution of Clodius Macer, the propretor of the province, who was known to have concerted measures for a revolt. It happened however that Calvia Crispinilla, the famous manager of Nero's pleasures, arrived in Africa, and insinuated herself into the secret counsels of the governor. By her advice he formed a resolution to establish for himself a new province independent of Rome. Their scheme for that purpose was to lay an embargo on all ships loaded with corn, in order to afflict the city of Rome with all the miseries of famine. A legion was also raised; and Macer, at the head of a considerable army, was on the eve of renouncing all subjection to Rome, when Papirius, a centurion sent by order of Galba, gained access to his presence, and stabbed him to the heart.

Fonteius Capito, who commanded the legions on the Lower Rhine, was put to death about the same time. It was this officer that sent Julius Civilis a prisoner to Rome during the reign of Nero. The charge was without foundation, and in time was the fatal cause of the destructive war in which Rome was involved by the fierce resentment of that warlike chief. Avarice was the vice of Capito. He was in haste to grow rich, and felt no scruple about the means. Ambition was laid to his charge; but an unguarded expression was the only evidence against him. It happened that he sat in judgment on a soldier accused of a capital crime, and condemned him to suffer death. 'Know,' said the prisoner, 'that I appeal to Cæsar.' Capito rose, and placing himself on a higher seat, *told* the man, 'Now appeal to Cæsar: make your *defence* in his presence.' The soldier obeyed, and was

sent to execution. This transaction was reported to Fabius Valens, who commanded a legion in Lower Germany; an officer of acknowleged ability, intrepid, active, and ambitious; eager in the pursuit of honors, and panting to signalise himself by some bold exploit. The opportunity now occurred, and he resolved to seize it. Crispinus, a centurion, was devoted to his service. In that man he found a ready assassin, and Fonteius Capito fell a victim. The death of that commander, Valens concluded, would be considerable merit with the new emperor. He lost no time, but sent an express to inform Galba of what he had done, with zeal for the service of his sovereign. He added, in the same letter, that the legions on the Upper Rhine had made a tender of the empire to Virginius Rufus, who remained in suspense, and with affected delays hesitated about his final answer. Galba received the news of Capito's death with secret satisfaction; but he thought it more prudent to connive than openly to approve. Virginius was still a dangerous rival. In order to draw him away from the army, and free himself from all danger in that quarter, he invited him to an amicable interview, having secretly appointed Hordeonius Flaccus to succeed to the command of the legions. The stratagem succeeded. The conqueror of Vindex went to the meeting, and found himself the dupe of pretended friendship. He met with a cold reception, very different from what was due to the man who wished to establish the civil authority, and to place the legislative power of the state in the senate only. He lived to be a spectator of the distractions and calamities that followed; and that he was not an actor in those scenes of blood and horror, was the recompense of uncommon virtue.

Galba had no farther reason to be alarmed. He saw *the armies of Rome* willing to acquiesce, and peace in

every part of the empire. He therefore changed his military robe for the Roman gown, and assumed the name of Cæsar. But even in that tide of his affairs the simplicity of his manners suffered no alteration. The same frugality, the same contempt of pomp and luxury, and the same austerity, still remained. Vinius covered his table with a profusion of luxury; and Otho, who attended the cavalcade into Italy, displayed all the magnificence of Nero's court. Galba still preserved his rules of ancient frugality, and condemned the vain parade[1] with inflexible rigor. He showed himself ready to punish, and slow to reward. In his manners no affability, no engaging courtesy. During the whole of his march he never once endeavored, by an act of condescension, to gain the affections of the people. The army in Italy consisted at that time of four different classes of men; namely, the legions, both foot and cavalry, composed chiefly of Roman citizens; the auxiliary forces, drafted from the states in alliance with Rome; the body of marines, levied in the tributary cities, and considered as slaves in the service of Rome; and fourthly, the gladiators who were to shed their blood in battle, if the occasion required, or in the circus, for the diversion of the populace. The marines, classed as above, in the third division, were called forth by Nero, when he projected a war on the borders

1 After a reign of luxury and dissipation, the rigid parsimony of Galba was unseasonable, and by consequence rendered him unpopular. Suetonius relates several instances of his avarice beneath the dignity of a prince. He adds, that soon after Galba's arrival in Rome, when he attended the performance of an Attelane fable, as soon as the actor began the first verse of a favorite song,

Venit, io! Simus a villa,

'*Here's* farmer Flatnose come from his villa,' the whole audience, with one voice, sang the song, repeating the first verse several times; Suet. in Galb. § 13.

of the Caspian sea, to be formed into a new legion. The men collected on that occasion amounted to a prodigious number, and all were quartered in the city. Being informed that Galba was near at hand, they rushed forth in a tumultuous body to the Milvian bridge, about three miles from Rome, where they beset the road, obstructed the emperor's train, and with violent clamor demanded a confirmation of their military rank, with an eagle to distinguish their legion, and an allotment of winter-quarters. Their application, they were told, was out of season, but might be renewed at a more convenient time and place. The answer was deemed evasive, and nothing short of an absolute refusal. The men were fired with indignation: a mutiny ensued: they advanced sword in hand, determined to extort by force what they considered as a legal right. Galba was not of a temper to yield to sudden emergences. He ordered his soldiers to disperse an insolent rabble. The cavalry rushed on to the charge with impetuous fury, and meeting with a feeble resistance, cut their way with dreadful slaughter. It is said that no less than seven thousand were put to the sword. The rest submitted at discretion, and were afterwards ordered to be decimated.

This tragic catastrophe spread a general consternation. Galba entered the city of Rome through a scene of blood, and men expected nothing less than a renewal of all the cruelties of Nero's reign. He carried with him many virtues; but he had in his train Titus Vinius, Cornelius Laco, and Icelus, his freedman; three pernicious ministers, who gained an intire ascendant over a venerable, but indolent, old man, and by their vices occasioned the dreadful calamities which in the following year overwhelmed themselves, their master, *and the public.*

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

CÆSARS.

1. CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, descended from the illustrious line of the Julian family, and father of Cæsar the dictator. He served the office of pretor. He, and his brother Lucius Cæsar, died A. U. C. 670. Julia their sister married C. Marius, who was seven times consul.—Suetonius, life of Jul. Cæs. § 1. 6. Pliny the elder, vii. 53. Plutarch, life of Marius.

2. Aurelia, the wife of C. J. Cæsar, and mother of the dictator; a woman of extraordinary talents and virtue.—Plut. life of Jul. Cæs. Tacitus, Dialogue of Oratory, § 28.

3. Caius Julius Cæsar, the dictator; born in the sixth consulship of Marius, A. U. C. 654, B. C. 100. He gained a complete victory at Pharsalia, and became emperor of Rome, A. U. C. 706. He was killed in the capitol by Brutus, Cassius, and other conspirators, A. U. C. 710. The number slain in his wars is computed at 1,192,000 men. Plutarch says that Cæsar, in his various battles, engaged no less than 3,000,000; that he killed 1,000,000, and took another million prisoners.—Velleius Paterculus, ii. 41. Pliny, vii. 25.

He was called after his death the Divine Julius, '*Divus* Julius.'

4. *Cossutia*, Julius Cæsar's first wife, of an equestrian family, and immoderately rich. Cæsar married

ıer when she was young, and was soon divorced.—Suet. life of Cæsar, § 1.

5. Cornelia, Cæsar's second wife. She was the daughter of Cinna, four times consul. Sylla tried in vain to compel J. Cæsar to repudiate her. He spoke her funeral panegyric.—Suet. life of Cæsar, § 1, 6. Plut. life of J. Cæsar.

6. Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar by Cornelia. She married Servilius Cæpio, and, being divorced from him, became the wife of Pompey the Great, A. U. C. 695. She died A. U. C. 700. Her funeral oration was spoken by Octavius. Honors were instituted to her memory by Julius Cæsar.—Suet. life of Cæsar, § 21.

7. Cneius Pompeius Magnus, born A. U. C. 648. He married Julia, Cæsar's daughter. He entered on the public magistracy at the age of eighteen. He was defeated by Julius Cæsar in the battle of Pharsalia, and put to death in Egypt, A. U. C. 706.—Vell. Pat. ii. 29. Plut. life of Pompey.

8. A son of Pompey the Great, by Julia, the daughter of J. Cæsar. Died A. U. C. 701.—Vell. Pater. ii. 47.

9. A daughter of Pompey, by Julia, Cæsar's daughter. Died A. U. C. 701.—Plut. life of J. Cæsar.

10. Pompeia, daughter of Quintus Pompeius, granddaughter of Lucius Sylla, and third wife of Julius Cæsar, who repudiated her on account of a supposed intrigue with Publius Clodius. Being asked what was his reason, he made answer, 'Cæsar's wife must not only be free from guilt, but also from suspicion.'—Suet. life of Cæsar, § 6. Plut. life of Cæsar.

11. Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso, married to J. Cæsar, A. U. C. 695. After the death of

her husband she fled for protection to Marc
Suet. life of Cæs. § 81.

12. Julia, sister of Julius Cæsar, being th
of C. J. Cæsar the pretor, and Aurelia his
was married to M. Atius Balbus.—Suet. l
gustus, § 4.

13. Marcus Atius Balbus, married Julia,
of Julius Cæsar. He was grandfather to A
Suet. life of Aug. § 4.

14. Atia, daughter of M. Atius Balbus, l
Julia, the sister of J. Cæsar. She married
tavius, and by him was mother of August
life of Aug. § 4. Tacit. Dialogue of Orator

15. Caius Octavius, husband of Atia, the
of M. Atius Balbus, by Julia, sister of Jul
Octavius, afterwards the emperor Augustu
course grand-nephew to Julius Cæsar.—Su
Aug. § 3, 4, 5.

16. Octavia, daughter of Atia and Caius
and sister of Augustus. She was promised i
to Faustus Sylla, but married Claudius
After his death she married Marc Antony.
a woman of exemplary virtue and great liter
plishments. She died A. U. C. 743. Augu
vered her funeral panegyric.—Suet. life of
§ 27.

17. Claudius Marcellus, husband of Oc
brother-in-law to Augustus. He was consu
704. Though nearly related to Cæsar the c
was always an enemy to his cause.—Suet.
Cæsar, § 27.

18. Marcus Marcellus, son of Octavia, th
Augustus, and consequently nephew to Aug
youth of great expectations, highly esteem

e, and by him intended to be next in succession to mperial dignity. He died prematurely, A. U. C.
Augustus paid distinguished honors to his me- y, and Virgil has made him immortal. — Ta- Annals, ii. 41; iii. 64. Virgil, Æneid, vi. 883.
'. Pompeia, daughter of Sextus Pompeius, pro- d in marriage to Marcus Marcellus, A. U. C. 715.
ılia, daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia, ied Marcus Marcellus, A. U. C. 729, two years re his death.—Dio Cassius, xlviii.
). Marcella the elder, daughter of Claudius Mar- ıs by his wife Octavia, and sister to the last-men- ed Marcellus. She was first married to Apuleius, afterwards to Valerius Messala.—Suet. life of '. § 53.
.. Apuleius, husband of Marcella the elder. He ıought to have been the son of Sextus Apuleius, was consul A. U. C. 725.—Dio Cassius, liv.
2. Apuleia Varilla, daughter of Marcella the elder, ıer husband Apuleius. She was also grand-niece ıugustus. Being condemned for adultery A. U. C. , she was banished two hundred miles from Rome. acit. Annals, ii. 50.
3. M. Valerius Messala Barbatus, second husband Marcella the elder. He was consul A. U. C. .—Suet. life of Aug. § 63; life of Claudius, §

4. M. Valerius Messala, son of Valerius Messala batus and of Marcella the elder. He was father he famous Messalina.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 26.
5. Domitia Lepida, daughter of Antonia the young- by her husband Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus. She ı the wife of the last-mentioned Valerius Messala, *mother of Messalina*; a woman of debauched and *ligate manners*, and a violent impetuous spirit: in *of beauty, riches*, and vice, the rival of Agrip-

pina, Nero's mother. She was condemned to A. U. C. 807.—Tacit. Annals, xi. 37; xii. 64 Suet. life of Claudius, § 26; life of Nero, § 7.

26. Valeria Messalina, daughter of Valerius sala and Domitia Lepida. She was wife to the ror Claudius; a woman of furious and till th heard-of lewdness. While Claudius was at Os had the hardiness openly to celebrate her m with Silius, and for that unparalleled crime was death, A. U. C. 801.—Tacit. Annals, xi. 26. life of Claudius, § 26.

27. Marcella the younger, daughter of Cl Marcellus and Octavia, sister to Augustus. Sh first married to M. Vipsanius Agrippa, and after to M. Julius Antonius.—Suet. life of Augustus, Plut. life of Marc Antony.

For M. Vipsanius Agrippa, see No. 47.

28. The issue of Vipsanius Agrippa, by his wife Marcella, before he was married to Julia daughter of Augustus by his wife Scribonia.— life of Aug. § 63.

29. Marcus Julius Antonius, son of Marc An the triumvir and Fulvia his wife. He married cella the younger, when repudiated by Agr He was consul A. U. C. 744; a man of libidi passions. He was put to death for his adulte commerce with Julia, the daughter of Augustus. ode of Horace, 'Pindarum quisquis studet æmu is addressed to him.—Tacit. Annals, iii. 18; iv Horace, iv. 2.

30. Lucius Antonius, son of M. Julius Antoniu Marcella the younger. On account of his fat guilt with Julia he was sent in his infancy to seilles, under a pretence of education, but in fact place of exile. He died A. U. C. 778.—Tacit nals, iv. 44.

31. Marc Antony, the triumvir, son of Marcus Antonius the celebrated orator. He was the second husband of Octavia, sister to Augustus, A. U. C. 714; but being in love with Cleopatra, he repudiated Octavia, A. U. C. 723. After the assassination of Julius Cæsar he seized the public treasure, which was deposited in the temple of Ops. He was at all times a turbulent and dangerous citizen; during the triumvirate, headong, furious, and oppressive. The rage with which he pushed on the proscription rendered him detestable. The supreme power was often within his reach, but all his actions proved him unworthy of that elevation. He was defeated at Actium A. U. C. 724. The murder of Cicero consigned his name to eternal infamy. By the manner of his death he effaced much of the shame that branded his former conduct.—See Velleius Paterculus, ii. 60 and 87. Pliny the elder, vii. 45. Plut. life of Antony. Cicero, Philippic Orations.

The inscriptions of him on medals are, 'Marcus Antonius, Marci Filius, Marci Nepos, Augur, Imperator, Consul designatus iterum et tertium, Triumvir Reipublicæ constituendæ.'

32. Antonia the elder, daughter of Antony the triumvir, by Octavia, sister to Augustus. She married L. Domitius Ænobarbus. She is called by Tacitus Antonia the younger, which makes it probable that Marc Antony had a former daughter, called Antonia, by his wife Fulvia.—See Tacit. Annals, iv. 44. Suet. life of Nero, § 5. Plut. life of Marc Antony.

33. Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus, son of Cneius Domitius, one of the conspirators against Julius Cæsar, and husband of Antonia the elder; a man of an impetuous temper, violent, proud, extravagant, and cruel. He commanded in Germany, and marched his army *beyond the Elbe* (Albis); and having penetrated

farther than any Roman had done before hi
tained the honors of a triumph. He died A. I
Suet. life of Nero, § 4. Tacit. Annals, iv. 4

34. Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, son of
mentioned L. D. Ænobarbus, by Antonia t
He married Agrippina, the daughter of Ge
A. U. C. 781 ; was consul A. U. C. 785.
was a series of evil deeds. He was the fathe
and was used to say that from himself and
nothing good or valuable could be born.—Su
Nero, § 4. Tacit. Annals, iv. 75.

For Agrippina, his wife, see No. 93.

35. Lucius Domitius Nero, the sixth Rom
ror, son of Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, l
pina the daughter of Germanicus. She w
daughter to the famous Agrippa, by Julia the
of Augustus. Nero was born 15th December
790, the detestable offspring of two perniciou
He was called simply Domitius, till by the a
Claudius, A. U. C. 803, he passed into the
family, and took the name of Nero. He
reign A. U. C. 807, with such favorable circu
as for a time gave promise of a virtuous pri
enormities afterwards delivered him down tc
ration of posterity. The burning of Rome
puted to him. The Christian religion has
that the foe of humankind was the enem
moral doctrine. He was a burden to himsel
tested by all orders of men. He was cond
die 'more majorum,' by a decree of the se
escaped a public execution, and died in a
manner by his own hand, A. U. C. 821, A. D
his death the race of the Cæsars became
Suet. life of Nero, § 6. Tacit. Annals, xii.
see Appendix to Annals, xvi. Pliny, xxii.'

The inscriptions on medals are, 'Ner

i Claudii Filius, Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, ıtifex [illegible]mus, Imperator, Tribunitia Potestate er Patriæ.'

3. Octavia, daughter of the emperor Claudius by ısalina. She was born A. U. C. 795. Britannicus her brother. She was contracted to Lucius Sila- , but married to Nero A. U. C. 806; worthy of er times, and a better husband. Nero repudiated for the sake of Poppæa. She was banished to the ıd of Pandataria, and there put to death, A. U. C. —Tacit. Annals, xii. 3. 25; xiv. 60. 64. Dio Cas- , lxi.

or Britannicus, her brother, see No. 108.

7. Poppæa Sabina, daughter of Titus Ollius by ıpæa Sabina. She was married first to Rufius ıpinus: secondly, to Marcus Salvius Otho, after- ds emperor; and at length to Nero, A. U. C. 815. vices of her character resembled those of the em- ɔr. He loved her tenderly, yet killed her by a : when she was with child, A. U. C. 813. Her y was not burnt, but filled with spices, and de- ted in the monument of the Cæsars. Three years r her death Nero dedicated a temple to her me- y, with an inscription, 'To Sabina the Goddess ıus Sabinæ Deæ Veneri.'—Tacit. Annals, xiii. xvi. 6. Suet. life of Nero, § 35. Dio Cassius, i.

8. Claudia Augusta, daughter of Nero and Pop- ., born at Antium, A. U. C. 816. She was soon r her birth dignified with the title of Augusta. She l within four months, to the great grief of Nero. was canonised a goddess by a decree of the senate. it. Annals, xv. 23. Suet. life of Nero, § 35.

ſer *inscription on* medals is, Diva Claudia Neronis ; '*The Goddess* Claudia, Daughter of Nero.'

39. Statilia Messalina, who drew her lineag several descents from Statilius Taurus. Sh third wife of Nero, who, to possess her per dered her first husband Atticus Vestinus, A. U —Suet. life of Nero, § 35. Tacit. Annals, xv

40. Domitia, daughter of Antonia the elde cius Ænobarbus; aunt to Nero, and the wif sienus Crispus. Nero destroyed her by pois C. 812.—Tacit. Annals, xiii. 19. 21. Quintili

For Passienus Crispus, see No. 94.

41. Caius Appius Junius Silanus. He was of Spain. By the desire of Claudius he ma mitia Lepida, the mother of Messalina, and after put to death by order of that emperor, 795.—Dio Cassius, book lx.

42. Antonia the younger, second daughte tony the triumvir, by Octavia sister of Augus married Nero Drusus, the brother of Tibe was the mother of Germanicus; a woman dist by her beauty, and no less by her virtue. vived Drusus, her husband, many years, le exemplary life in a state of widowhood, an whole tenor of her conduct almost eclipsing of her ancestors.—Pliny, vii. 19. Suet. life gula, § 1. Tacit. Annals, iii. 3; xi. 3. Plu Marc Antony. Valerius Maximus, iv. 3.

43. Caius Octavius Cæsar, Augustus, er

. Lepidus, one of the triumvirate, was dis-
ed of his power; and Marc Antony was over-
n at the battle of Actium. After those events
ius was the only surviving chief of the Julian
He became an emperor of Rome A. U. C. 724.
ring the whole course of his reign pacific mea-
were the object of his policy. Letters florished,
ıen of genius met with encouragement. By his
ar acts he gained the affections of the people,
he title of Augustus, the Father of his Country.
ia, Sarmatia, the Garamantes and Bactrians,
, and the people called the Seres, submitted to
ıthority, and sent their ambassadors to settle the
of a general peace. At Rome, and the capital
of the provinces, temples, orders of priesthood,
lotal colleges, were dedicated to him, not only
his death, but in many places during his life.
ied at Nola on the 18th of August, A. U. C. 767.
:haracter, strictly examined, was more splendid
s policy than his virtues. He owed his elevation
: vices of Lepidus and Antony, and the abilities
psanius Agrippa; but it redounds to his praise,
what he gained by the prudence and valor of
s he was able to support, by a well-judged sys-
f policy, during a space of four-and-forty years.
ıs said of him, that he found the city of Rome
with brick, and he changed it to marble. Though
d even during his life in some parts of the em-
he was taught by various incidents that he was
ore than man.—See Suet. life of Augustus. Ta-
Annals, i.; xiii. 6. Florus, iv. 12. Aurelius
ır, chap. 1. Pliny, vii. 45. Seneca, De Conso-
ıe, 34.

ıcriptions on ancient medals:

ore his elevation to the supreme power, 'Octa-

vius Cæsar, son of the deified Julius, imperator, triumvir for the purpose of restoring the commonwealth, consul, the assertor of public liberty.'

After his accession to the empire, 'Cæsar, Augustus, son of the deified Julius Cæsar, imperator, consul, chief pontiff, and, with the tribunitian power, father of his country.'

After his death, Divus Augustus, 'The deified Augustus.'

44. Clodia, daughter of Publius Clodius by his wife Fulvia, and daughter-in-law to Antony the triumvir. In order to conciliate terms of peace Augustus married her, when she was yet of tender years; but a quarrel taking place with Fulvia, her mother, Augustus repudiated her in her virgin state.—Suet. life of Aug. § 62.

45. Scribonia, sister of Lucius Scribonius Libo, and wife of Augustus. She had been married twice before to two men of consular rank, and by one of them, whose name was Scipio, she had a daughter named Cornelia. Augustus repudiated Scribonia A. U. C. 715, and Livia, in a few years afterwards, succeeded to the embraces of the emperor of Rome.—Suet. life of Aug. § 63. 69. Dio, xlviii. Propertius, iv. 2.

46. Julia, daughter of Augustus, by his wife Scribonia, born A. U. C. 715. She was married, first to Marcellus; secondly, to Agrippa; and thirdly, to Tiberius; a woman of dissolute conduct, libidinous passions, and abandoned infamy. On account of her adulterous intrigues she was banished by Augustus to the island of Pandataria, A. U. C. 752. She was left there by Tiberius to pine in want and misery. She died A. U. C. 767.—Pliny, vii. 45. Dio, lv. Tacit. Annals, i. 53. Vell. Paterculus, ii. 100.

For her first husband, Marcus Marcellus, see No. 18.

47 Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa; a man of low ex-

action, in his manners unpolished, even to a degree rusticity. For those defects he made ample atonement by superior qualities; in war, a great commander; id through life a man of unblemished integrity. He ined signal victories both by land and sea, and by s brilliant success established Augustus on the impeal throne. A stranger to letters and the fine arts, he as notwithstanding the friend of science. At a time hen geographical knowlege had made little or no ogress, he framed a map of the world, and presented to the public. Not only Rome but Italy was adorned, ider his direction, with public buildings no less usel than magnificent. Augustus, to show a grateful sense his services and his merit, raised him to three several nsulships, and even made him his associate in the ibunitian power. On the death of Marcus Marcellus ee No. 18), Augustus chose him for his son-in-law, id gave him in marriage his daughter Julia, then a idow, A. U. C. 733. Agrippa, though a new man, ad the art of rising in the world with superior digity. He died A. U. C. 742, in the fifty-first year of is age. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric.—acit. Annals, i. 3. Pliny, iii. 2; vii. 8; xxxv. 4.)io, liv. Vell. Paterculus, ii. 96.

He was called in ancient medals, 'Marcus Agrippa, on of Lucius, consul three times, commander of the eet, and prefect of the sea-coast.'

48. Caius Cæsar, son of Agrippa and Julia, born . U. C. 734; adopted by Augustus as his son, prince f the Roman youth, and consul elect. He was prematurely cut off on his return from Armenia, A. U. C. 57.—Tacit. Annals, i. 3. Dio, liv.

He was married to Livia, the sister of Germanicus, —Tacit. Annals, iv. 40.

For Livia, his wife, see No. 71.

49. Lucius Cæsar, son of Agrippa and Juli to Caius Cæsar, born A. U. C. 737; adopte gustus into the Cæsarean family; styled pri Roman youth; and declared consul elect. I Marseilles, on his way to join the army in the month of August, A. U. C. 754. Tacit i. 3.

In ancient medals both brothers are calle and Lucius Cæsar, sons of Augustus, con princes of the Roman youth.'

50. Marcus Agrippa Posthumus, son of Ag Julia, brother to Caius and Lucius, born aft ther's death, A. U. C. 742. He was adopte gustus A. U. C. 757, and soon after, on acc uncouth manners and stupid ferocity, banis island of Planasia. No kind of guilt could b to him; no disgraceful or flagitious action v his charge; and for that reason Augustus, to end of his life, began to relent. He intended him to his rank, and it is said made a voy isle of Planasia for the purpose of a reco Augustus however did not live to carry his c execution. Agrippa Posthumus was cut of of Tiberius, who made that murder the first reign, A. U. C. 767.—Dio, liv. Vell. Pat Tacit. Annals, i. 3. 6. Pliny, vii. 45.

51. Agrippina, daughter of Agrippa and Ju daughter to Augustus, and wife of Germanic man of noble qualities, an exalted spirit, a querable chastity. Elate with the pride of v conscious of her illustrious birth, she scorn to the arrogance of Livia, the mother of She was banished to the isle of Pandataria; *suffering* every barbarous outrage from the *Tiberius*, died in misery, A.U.C. 786.—Ta

. 12; vi. 25; xiv. 63. See supplement to book v. of e Annals, § 5.

For Germanicus, her husband, see No 81.

52. Julia, daughter of Agrippa and Julia, sister to grippina, and grand-daughter to Augustus. She mar-ed Lucius Æmilius Paulus, and in all kinds of ex-ess and vicious debauchery distinguished herself as ıe rival of her mother. In the reign of Augustus she as condemned for her adulterous practices, and ba-ished to the isle of Trimetus, A. U. C. 761. She ied in exile, A. U. C. 781.—Tacit. Annals, iv. 71.

53. Lucius Æmilius Paulus, son of Paulus Æmilius epidus and his wife Cornelia. The father was censor . U. C. 732. Lucius the son married Julia, the aughter of Agrippa and Julia.—Suet. life of Augus-ıs, § 64. Dio, liv.

54. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, son of Lucius Æmi-us Lepidus and Julia the daughter of Agrippa. He ıarried Drusilla, and committed adultery and incest ith her sisters. His vices endeared him to Caligula. Ie was condemned for treasonable practices, and put) death A. U. C. 792. Caligula, on that occasion, ave a donative to the soldiers, and dedicated to Mars he Avenger three swords, which had been prepared y the conspirators.—Dio, lix. Suet. life of Caligula, 24. 36. Tacit. Annals, xiv. 2.

55. Æmilia Lepida, the daughter of Lucius Æmi-ius Paulus and Julia, the daughter of Agrippa and ulia, consequently grand-daughter to Augustus. She ras contracted to Claudius, afterwards emperor, when ıe was extremely young; and afterwards married to unius Silanus.—Suet. life of Claud. § 26. Pliny, ii. 13.

56. Junius Silanus, the husband of the last-men-

tioned Æmilia Lepida. Nothing of him ca with certainty; but it is probable that h Marcus Silanus who was joint consul wit Norbanus Flaccus, A. U. C. 772.—Tacit. A 59.

57. Marcus Junius Silanus, son of Juniu and Æmilia Lepida, born in the year in whic tus died, A. U. C. 767.—Pliny, vii. 13. I man of an unblemished character, but so ina Caligula called him 'the golden calf.' He consul of Asia, and, by Nero's order, tak poison, A. U. C. 807.—Tacit. Annals, xiii. 1

58. The wife of Marcus Junius Silanus mother of Lucius Silanus Torquatus. The not to be found in any historian.

59. Lucius Silanus Torquatus, son of Marc Silanus, who was great-grandson to Augustu out being charged with any crime, obnoxiou account of his illustrious birth and the mode youth, he was put to death by Nero, A. U. Tacit. Annals, xvi. 7, 8, 9.

60. Lucius Junius Silanus, son of Juniu and Æmilia Lepida (see No. 55 and 56). T ror Claudius had promised him his daught in marriage, A. U. C. 794, but soon after bro match, and left Silanus to choose his mode A. U. C. 802.—Dio, lx. Tacit. Annals, xii.

61. Junius Silanus Torquatus, son of Juniu and Æmilia Lepida, who was great-grand-d Augustus. A pedigree derived from the J mily, and rendered still more illustrious by tion to Augustus, made him obnoxious to th of Nero. He died by that emperor's order, 817. Both he and Lucius Silanus Torquatus

in the month of June, for which reason the name
s changed to that of Germanicus.—Tacit. Annals,
35; xvi. 8. 12. Dio, lxii.
2. Junia Calvina, daughter of Junius Silanus and
nilia Lepida. She was married to Vitellius, who
s afterwards emperor. Distinguished by her beauty
l illustrious birth, she preserved an unblemished
racter, but provoked her enemies by a fierce and
omplying spirit. By the malice and insidious arts
Agrippina the younger she was banished out of
ly, but recalled by Nero A. U. C. 812. She lived
the time of Vespasian.—Tacit. Annals, xiii. 4. 8;
. 12. Suet. life of Vesp. § 23.
3. Vitellius, son of Lucius Vitellius the censor and
wife Sextilia. He married Junia Calvina, and
s consul A. U. C. 801. On some dissension be-
en him and his wife, a divorce took place some
e before A. U. C. 802.—Tacit. Annals, xi. 23; xii.
Suet. life of Vitellius, § 3. 18.
4. Lepida, daughter of Junius Silanus and Æmilia
pida. She was married to Caius Cassius, governor
Syria. An accusation alleging various crimes was
orned against her, but referred to the judgment of
ro, A. U. C. 818.—Tacit. Annals, xvi. 8, 9.
5. Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, and husband
Lepida. He was celebrated for his superior know-
e of the laws; but being charged with having, among
images of his ancestors, the picture or statue of the
ous Cassius, with an inscription, 'To the chief of
ty,' he was banished to the island of Sardinia, A.
C. 818.—Tacit. Annals, xii. 11, 12; xvi. 8, 9.
6. Livia, called also Livia Drusilla, and, after the
th of Augustus, Julia Augusta. She was the
ughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus. Her first
sband was Tiberius Claudius Nero: being divorced

from him, she married Augustus, A. U. C. 716. A woman of illustrious birth, elegant in her form and manners, of high ambition, and an overbearing spirit. She had the skill to manage the gentle arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of Tiberius; a complying and obliging wife, and afterwards an imperious mother. Her enmity to Germanicus and his wife Agrippina was subtle, close, and unrelenting. She died A. U. C. 782, at the age of eighty-six.—Vell. Pat. ii. 75. Suet. life of Tiberius, § 3, 4. Dio, xlviii. Tacit. Annals, v. 1.

Her inscriptions on ancient medals: 'Livia Augusta, Julia, Augusta, mother of her country.'

After her death: 'The deified Livia, wife of the deified Augustus, the deified Julia Augusta.'

67. Tiberius Claudius Nero, the first husband of Livia, and by her the father of Tiberius, afterwards emperor, and of Nero Claudius Drusus (for whom see No. 79). He obtained the dignities of pretor and pontiff; a man of brilliant talents and extensive learning. He attached himself to Antony the triumvir; and after the defeat of that party he withdrew with his wife Livia and Tiberius, then an infant about two years old, into Sicily, A. U. C. 714. Livia fled from Augustus, her destined husband, and Tiberius from his future father by adoption. Tiberius Claudius Nero made his peace with Augustus, and resigned his wife A. U. C. 716. He died three years after, A. U. C. 719.—Vell. Pat. ii. 75. Suet. life of Tiberius, § 4. 6. Dio, xlvii.

68. Tiberius Nero, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero by Livia his wife, born 16th November, A. U. C. 712; adopted by Augustus A. U. C. 757, and emperor of *Rome* A. U. C. 767. He died on the 17th of March, A. U. C. 790, after a reign of three-and-twenty years.

us Cæsar subdued his country; Augustus cherished conquered; and Tiberius made them crouch in lage. He established slavery, and despised the ile spirit of the men that submitted with passive lience. He hated eminent virtue, and was at the e time the enemy of vice. Such jarring elements e been rarely mixed in the composition of one man: tuating between good and evil, and by turns in- ed to each, he did every thing by fits and sudden ts of passion. Before he rose to the supreme er he distinguished himself by his warlike spirit. en master of the Roman world dissimulation was prominent feature of his character. When he had ed far in guilt and flagitious deeds he lay 'on the ure of the mind in restless ecstacy.' Goaded by conscience, and alarmed by constant suspicions, he from danger to the isle of Capreæ, but could not rom himself. He was often heard to utter a most ible wish, expressed in a Greek verse:

Εμου θανοντος, γαια μιχθητω πυρι.
Me mortuo, terra misceatur igni.

my death let the earth be involved in flames.' called Priam the happiest of men, because his gdom perished with him.—Vell. Pat. ii. 75. Ta- in the six first Annals, *passim*. Pliny, xxviii. 2. nscriptions on ancient medals: 'Tiberius Cæsar, ustus, son of the deified Augustus, imperator, ur, chief pontiff, vested with the tribunitian power.' 9. Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of Marcus Vipsa- s Agrippa by his first wife Pomponia, who was the nd-daughter of Atticus, to whom Cicero addressed well-known collection of letters. Vipsania Agrip- a *was first married* to Tiberius, the emperor, but *im unwillingly* repudiated during her pregnancy

eath by order of Tiberius (see Supplement to Annals, . 38, 39); and by a decree of the senate her pictures nd statues were all destroyed, and her memory randed with infamy.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 1; fe of Tiberius, § 62. Tacit. Annals, iv. 3. 40; vi. 2. Dio, lviii.

72. Tiberius, son of Drusus Cæsar (see No. 70) and ivilla (No. 71), grandson to Tiberius the emperor, orn with a twin-brother A. U. C. 772. Tiberius was o elated with joy on that occasion that he boasted of he birth of twins as an event which had never hapened to any Roman of equal rank. Caligula deprived im of the succession and his life, A. U. C. 790.—Tacit. Annals, ii. 84. Dio, lix.

73. The twin-brother of Tiberius (No. 72), the son f Drusus and Livia, or Livilla, died when about four ears old, A. U. C. 776.—Tacit. Annals, ii. 84; iv. 15. His name is nowhere mentioned.

74. Julia, daughter of Drusus Cæsar (No. 70) and Livia (No. 71), married first to Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and afterwards to Rubelius Blandus. She was cut off by the malice of Messalina A. U. C. 796.—Tacit. Annals, iii. 29; vi. 27; xiii. 19. 32. Dio, lx.

For Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, he husband of Julia, see No. 82.

75. Rubellius Blandus, son of a Roman knight, and he second husband of Julia, the daughter of Drusus (see No. 70). He was married to her A. U. C. 786.—Tacit. Annals, vi. 27. Dio, lviii.

76. Rubellius Plautus, son of Rubellius Blandus and his wife Julia. The popular voice marked him out a proper person to succeed to the imperial dignity, and for that *reason* he was put to death by Nero

to make way for a match with Julia, the daughter of Augustus.—Tacit. Annals, i. 12. Suetonius, life of Tiberius, § 7. Dio, liv. After her divorce she married Asinius Gallus, the son of Asinius Pollio, the consul and celebrated orator, the favorite of Augustus, and, what is now of more consequence, celebrated by Horace and Virgil. Of all the children of Agrippa she is the only one that died a natural death, A. U. C. 773. Tacit. Annals, iii. 19.

For Asinius Gallus, see Tacit. Annals, i. 8.

70. Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius by Vipsania Agrippina, who was repudiated in her pregnancy. He was born A. U. C. 739; a youth of a towering spirit, impatient of an equal, addicted to liquor, and in that vice the rival of his father. He married Livia, otherwise called Livilla, who was debauched by Sejanus, and drawn into a plot against her husband's life. Drusus had been three times consul, and was every day rising to eminence in the state, when Sejanus put an end to his days by poison, A. U. C. 776.—Tacit. Annals, i. 55; iii. 56; iv. 3. 8. Pliny, xiv. 22.

Inscriptions on ancient medals: 'Drusus Cæsar, son of Tiberius, grandson to the deified Augustus, pontiff, consul, vested with tribunitian power.'

71. Livia, or Livilla, daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus (see No. 79) by his wife Antonia the younger (see No. 42). She was sister to Germanicus, and also Claudius the emperor. Her first husband was Caius, the son of Agrippa; after his death she married Drusus the son of Tiberius. Sejanus seduced her affections from her husband. Engaged in a course of adultery with that flagitious minister, she hoped to rise with *her* paramour to the imperial dignity, and with that *ambitious* view conspired against her husband. Her *guilt* being afterwards fully detected, she was put to

eath by order of Tiberius (see Supplement to Annals, . 38, 39); and by a decree of the senate her pictures nd statues were all destroyed, and her memory randed with infamy.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 1; ife of Tiberius, § 62. Tacit. Annals, iv. 3. 40; vi. 2.)io, lviii.

72. Tiberius, son of Drusus Cæsar (see No. 70) and Livilla (No. 71), grandson to Tiberius the emperor, born with a twin-brother A. U. C. 772. Tiberius was so elated with joy on that occasion that he boasted of the birth of twins as an event which had never happened to any Roman of equal rank. Caligula deprived him of the succession and his life, A. U. C. 790.—Tacit. Annals, ii. 84. Dio, lix.

73. The twin-brother of Tiberius (No. 72), the son of Drusus and Livia, or Livilla, died when about four years old, A. U. C. 776.—Tacit. Annals, ii. 84; iv. 15. His name is nowhere mentioned.

74. Julia, daughter of Drusus Cæsar (No. 70) and Livia (No. 71), married first to Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, and afterwards to Rubellius Blandus. She was cut off by the malice of Messalina A. U. C. 796.—Tacit. Annals, iii. 29; vi. 27; xiii. 19. 32. Dio, lx.

For Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina, the husband of Julia, see No. 82.

75. Rubellius Blandus, son of a Roman knight, and the second husband of Julia, the daughter of Drusus (see No. 70). He was married to her A. U. C. 786.—Tacit. Annals, vi. 27. Dio, lviii.

76. Rubellius Plautus, son of Rubellius Blandus and his wife Julia. The popular voice marked him out a proper person to succeed to the imperial dignity, and for that reason he was put to death by Nero

A. U. C. 815.—Tacit. Annals, xiii. 19; xiv. 22. 58.

77. Antistia Pollutia, daughter of Lucius Antistius Vetus, and wife of Rubellius Plautus (No. 76). She was put to death with her father and Sextia, her mother-in-law, A. U. C. 818. Her crime was, that while she lived Nero considered her and her family as a living reproach for the murder of her husband Rubellius Plautus.—Tacit. Annals, xvi. 10, 11.

78. A son of Tiberius the emperor by Julia, the daughter of Augustus (see No. 46). He was born at Aquileia, and died in his infancy, A. U. C. 747. His name is nowhere mentioned.—Suet. life of Tiberius, § 7. Dio, lv.

79. Nero Claudius Drusus, son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (see No. 67) and Livia, afterwards married to Augustus. Tiberius the emperor was his elder brother. He was born A. U. C. 716. A youth, says Velleius Paterculus, of as many virtues as prudence can acquire, or human nature can admit. The fine ode of Horace, 'Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,' iv. 4, written A. U. C. 743, displays his military character in the brightest colors. He rose to the highest civil offices, such as pretor, edile, and consul. He commanded the Roman army in Germany, and for his victories obtained the name of Germanicus. He was father of the famous Germanicus by Antonia the younger (see No. 42). He died A. U. C. 745; the pride of the Claudian family, and the favorite of the Roman people. Augustus spoke his funeral panegyric, and in his speech offered up a fervent prayer to the gods, that all future Cæsars might resemble him, and that his own death, whenever it should happen, *might* be equally honorable and as sincerely lamented.

—Suet. life of Claudius, § 1; life of Tiberius, § 4. Dio, lv. Valerius Maximus, iv. 3, No. 3.

Inscription on ancient coins: 'Nero Claudius Drusus, Germanicus, imperator.'

For Antonia the younger, the wife of Drusus, see No. 42.

80. Sons of Drusus and Antonia. They died before A. U. C. 745, and their names are now unknown. —Suet. life of Claudius, § 1.

81. Germanicus Cæsar, son of Nero Claudius Drusus (No. 79) by Antonia the younger (No. 42), the worthiest son of the worthiest parents. Tiberius, by the command of Augustus, adopted him A. U. C. 757, but afterwards, when possessed of the supreme power, beheld him with a malignant eye. He died on his return from a tour in Egypt, not without strong suspicions of being poisoned by the contrivance of Livia, the mother of Tiberius, and the villany of Piso and Plancina, A. U. C. 772, in the thirty-first year of his age. The funeral ceremony was performed at Antioch. Germanicus succeeded to his father in the affections of the Roman people. Of gentle manners, mild and gracious to all, he was beheld with pleasure, and heard with applause. Ambition, if we except the fair desire of being distinguished by his virtues, had no influence on his conduct. Undebauched by pleasure, he discharged all the duties of an upright citizen and an able officer. He commanded the Roman legions in Germany; in war victorious, and in peace moderate to the vanquished. Possessed of great accomplishments, he was in nothing inferior to Alexander, and free from the vices of that warlike chief. He was, on the side of virtue, greatly his superior. Rome deplored his death, and with him lost all hopes *of seeing the old constitution* restored. Foreign na-

tions paid their tribute of respect to his
Tacit. Annals, i. 3. 33, 34. 42, &c.; ii. 72
lv.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: 'Germani
son of Tiberius Augustus, grandson to
Augustus, consul.'

After his death, in the reign of his son
'Germanicus Cæsar, father of Cæsar Au
deified Germanicus.'

For Agrippina, his wife, see No. 51.

82. Nero Cæsar, son of Germanicus and
He married Julia, daughter of Drusus the
berius (see No. 70), A. U. C. 773. By t
arts of Sejanus he was banished to the isle
and there put to death A. U. C. 784.—Tac
iv. 59, 60; v. 3, 4. Suet. life of Tiberius, §
lviii.

For Julia, the wife of Nero Cæsar, see N

83. Drusus Cæsar, son of Germanicus a
pina, brother to Nero Cæsar and Caligula,
emperor. He married Æmilia Lepida, wh
duced by Sejanus to betray her husband.
himself by the arts of that evil minister, he
against the life of his brother Nero Cæsar.
imprisoned at Rome by order of Tiberius, a
confinement A. U. C. 786.—Tacit. Annals, i
23, 24. Dio, lviii.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: 'Nero Cæsa
Cæsar, Duumviri.'

84. Æmilia Lepida, daughter of Manius
and wife of Drusus Cæsar (No. 83). She wa
in an adulterous commerce with Sejanus, and
by that ambitious upstart to carry a clandesti
against her husband to the ear of Tiberius.
standing her crimes she was protected duri

r's life; but being afterwards prosecuted by the e of informers, she put an end to her days A. U. C. .—Tacit. Annals, iv. 20; vi. 27. 40.

5. Caius Cæsar, son of Germanicus and Agrippina; outh of engaging manners, and a promising dispo- on. He died prematurely in the bloom of life, ch regretted by Augustus.—Suet. life of Caligula, 8.

6. Calus Cæsar, better known by the name of igula, fourth emperor of Rome, the son of Germa- us and Agrippina. He was born at Antium 31st gust, in the consulship of Germanicus and Fonteius pito, A. U. C. 765. He practised the arts of dissi- lation during the life of Tiberius, and had the skill conceal his real character. Having obtained the ereign power he threw off the mask, and showed self a monster of vice and cruelty. He wished h impious arrogance to be worshipped as a god, and at the same time a tyrant of savage ferocity, the urge of humankind. His delight in blood was so n and ardent that he was often heard to express his h, 'that the Roman people had but one neck, that might at a blow destroy the whole race.' He dis- ted in less than a year the whole treasure left by erius, computed to be an immense sum. Nor can be wondered at in a man who spent for one dinner undred thousand sesterces. Costly and effeminate his dress, he was so extravagant as to appear in es composed of pearl. He was slain by Cassius rea, tribune of a pretorian cohort, on the fourth of the Palatine games, A. U. C. 794; a man, says eca, designed by nature to show what the worst s can do in the height of power.—Seneca de Con- t. c. ix. Suet. life of Caligula, § 8. 37. 58. Pliny, 9; *xxxvii. 2.* Tacit. Annals, vi. 20.

Inscriptions on ancient coins: 'Caius Cæsar A gustus Germanicus, son of Tiberius Augustus, gra son to Augustus, great-grandson to the deified Aug tus, Caius Cæsar, a god and emperor.'

As adopted son of Tiberius he was grandson to A gustus: as the son of Germanicus he was great-gra son.

87. Claudia, daughter of M. Silanus, married Caligula A. U. C. 786. She died in childbed. Sue nius calls her Junia Claudilla.—Tacit. Annals, vi. Suet. life of Caligula, § 12.

88. Livia Oristilla, called by Dio Cornelia Oresti She was on the point of marrying Caius Calpurni Piso when Caligula, enamored of her beauty, carri her off by force, and in a few days after repudiat her.—Suet. life of Caligula, § 25. Dio, lix.

89. Lollia Paulina, grand-daughter of Marcus Lo lius, who was tutor to Caius Cæsar, the son of Agrip (No. 48), and drew on himself a load of disgrace a obloquy on account of the prodigious presents whic he received with a rapacious hand from the orient princes. His daughter Lollia Paulina was marrie to Caligula. The emperor ravished her from Cai Memmius Regulus, and in a short time after dismisse her from his embraces. Pliny assures us that he sa her, not at a time of public festivity, but at a moderat entertainment, placed at the banqueting table, in dress overcharged with jewels and pearls, artfully in termixed and blended, tangled in her hair, shining o her head, at her ears, round her neck, with rich brace lets on her arms, and her fingers loaded with rings; the whole of this labored magnificence was not worth less than four hundred thousand sesterces. Pliny adds, that this enormous display was not a present from the emperor, but all of it the wealth of her grand

[arcus Lollius, accumulated from the spoil of
ed provinces.—Pliny, IX. XXXV. 57. Suet. life
ula, § 25. Dio, lix.

ilonia Cæsonia, daughter of Vestilia, whom
married when she was advanced in her preg-
A. U. C. 792. In thirty days after she was
d of her child. She was the wife of the worst
and her own vices made her worthy of such a
on. Caligula was killed A. U. C. 794; and in
ys after Cherea, who despatched the tyrant,
Cæsonia and her daughter to be put to death,
remains of the tyrant's family should be suf-
exist. She died with a degree of fortitude
uld have done honor to a better character.—
ife of Caligula, § 25. 59. Dio, lix. Pliny,

ulia Drusilla, daughter of Caligula and Milonia
. Her frantic father carried her to the temples
e goddesses, and dedicated her to Minerva, as
atroness of her education. She discovered in
ancy strong indications of the cruelty that
both her parents. She suffered death with
her (see No. 93).—Suet. life of Caligula, § 25.
, lix.

wo sons of Germanicus and Agrippina, who
their infancy. Their names not recorded.—
fe of Caligula, § 7, 8.

grippina, daughter of Germanicus and Agrip-
rn A. U. C. 769. She was married three times;
Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, A. U. C. 781;
, to Passienus Crispus; thirdly, to the empe-
idius, A. U. C. 801. She was a woman of vio-
sions, unbounded ambition, and at the same
tinguished by her literary accomplishments.
barbus, her first husband, she was the mother

of Nero, whose name is now another wo
most savage cruelty. Nero was born A.
(No. 35). By that execrable parricide Agr
barbarously murdered A. U. C. 812.—Tac
ii. 54; iv. 53; xii. 64; xiv. 6, 7, 8. Suet.
ligula, § 7; Dio, x.

For Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, her firs
and the father of Nero, see No. 34.

94. Passienus Crispus, a celebrated o
twice consul. He was first married to D
No. 40), and secondly to Agrippina. A sh
ing of his concerning Caligula is well know
never was a better servant nor a worse ma
other occasions he was used to observe, 'V
pose the door to flattery, but none of us
Pliny, xvi. xxxiv. 91. Tacit. Annals, vi. 20
Quæst. Natural. iv. Preface.

For Claudius, the third husband of Agri
No. 100.

95. Drusilla, daughter of Germanicus a
pina, born A. U. C. 770. She was first n
Lucius Cassius Longinus, A. U. C. 786, and
to Marcus Æmilius Lepidus. Caligula, he
had an incestuous intrigue with her; and
death, which happened A. U. C. 791, he
her for a goddess by the name of Panthea.
occasion Livius Geminius declared on his oa
had seen her in her ascent to heaven. For
ordinary testimony he was amply rewarde
gula.—Tacit. Annals, vi. 15. Suet. life of
§ 7. 24. Dio, ix.

On ancient coins; 'Drusilla Augusta.'

96. Lucius Cassius Longinus, married to
(No. 95). He was raised to the consulship
783, and afterwards stood forth the accuser

wife's brother (see No. 83).—Suet. life of Caligula, i. Tacit. Annals, vi. 15. Dio, lviii.

'or M. Æmilius Lepidus, the second husband of ısilla, see No. 54.

7. Julia, daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, ed by Suetonius Livilla. She was born A. U. C. . Caligula, on account of her debaucheries, or- ed her to be conveyed to the isle of Pontia, A. U. C. . She was recalled in the reign of Claudius; but ısalina, without any crime alleged, contrived to e her into banishment, and afterwards put her to th, A. U. C. 796.—Suet. life of Caligula, § 7. 24. of Claudius, § 29. Dio, lix.

3. Quintilius Varus, son of Claudia Pulchra, who cousin to Agrippina. He married Julia (No. 97). accusation was framed against him by Domitius r and Dolabella, A. U. C. 780.—Seneca, Controv. . Tacit. Annals, iv. 52. 66.

). Marcus Vinicius. He married Julia (No. 97) J. C. 786; was twice consul, but by a wicked stra- ım of Messalina was destroyed by poison A. U. C. . It was to this man, in the year of his consulship, Velleius Paterculus dedicated his elegant com- dium of the Roman history; a work admired for beauty of the style, but debased by the fulsome se of Tiberius and Sejanus.—Tacit. Annals, vi. 15. Supplement to Annals, v. 11. Dio, lx.

)0. Tiberius Claudius Drusus Germanicus, fifth eror of Rome. He was son to Nero Claudius sus (No. 79) and Antonia the younger (No. 42): vas brother to Germanicus; born at Lyons (Lug- i) A. U. C. 744. He discovered in the first dawn ıfancy a degree of dulness that bordered on stupi- . He grew up so sluggish in body and mind, that *nia his mother often* declared that he was an im-

perfect production, sent into the world unf
the hand of Nature. He succeeded to th
power A. U. C. 794, during the whole of hi
verned altogether by his wives or his freed
was poisoned by the contrivance of Agrippi
and died on the 13th of October, in the si
year of his age, and the fourteenth of his re
C. 807. After his death he was numbered
gods. His deification was treated with con
ridicule by Seneca, in a tract still extan
'Claudii Cæsaris Apocolokintosis.' The g
sign of this piece is not ill imagined; but
is often coarse, and on the whole inferi
might have been expected from the lively
that entertaining writer. Claudius, with
pearance of inert faculties and an impassive
voted his time in repose and indolence to
and the polite arts. He was not intirely vo
His compositions in Greek, as well as L
written with purity and even elegance. Tw
a brass table have been found at Lyons, c
engraved a speech of Claudius, in character
legible, that Dotteville (in his edition of T
given an exact copy, faithfully compared wi
ginal (see at the end of his Notes to Ann
Suet. life of Claudius, § 2. 10. 41, 42. Ta
xii. 60. Seneca, Apocolokintosis. Pliny,
24.

101. Plautia Urgulanilla, daughter of A
tius, who had enjoyed the splendor of a tri
was the first wife of the emperor Claudius,
repudiated on account of her licentious m
a suspicion of homicide that blackened her
—*Suet.* life of Claudius, § 26. Dio, lx.

102. **Drusus, son of the emperor Clau**

gulanilla. A match between him and the daughter of Sejanus was projected by that ambitious favorite A. U. C. 773; but Drusus, as yet of tender years, lost his life by an accident. A pear, which in a playful manner he had tossed up in the air, fell into his mouth and choked him.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27. Tacit. Annals, iii. 29.

103. Claudia, daughter of Urgulanilla. She was born in less than five months after her mother's divorce from Claudius; and yet the emperor thought proper to disown her as his child, alleging that she was begot by one of his freedmen, and as such he ordered her to be left naked at her mother's door.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27.

104. Ælia Petina, daughter of Quintus Ælius Tubero, who was consul A. U. C. 743. She was the second wife of Claudius, but on some frivolous occasion soon repudiated.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 26.

105. Antonia, daughter of the emperor Claudius and Ælia Petina. Claudius gave her away in marriage to Cneius Pompeius (see No. 106), and afterwards to Cornelius Sylla (see No. 107). Nero, after the death of Poppæa, proposed to marry her; and his offer being rejected, he condemned her to suffer death, on a pretended charge of plotting against the state.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27. Life of Nero, § 35. Tacit. Annals, xii. 68.

106. Cneius Pompeius, a youth of noble descent, married to Antonia (No. 105) A. U. C. 794. He was some time after put to death by order of Claudius.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27. 29.

107. Faustus Cornelius Sylla, of illustrious birth, the second husband of Antonia (No. 105). He was banished by Nero into Narbon Gaul, and there put to death by assassins despatched from Rome, A. U. C.

815.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27. Tacit. Annals, xiii. 23; xiv. 57.

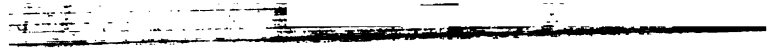
For Messalina, the third wife of Claudius, see No. 26.

108. Britannicus, son of Claudius and Messalina, born 12th of February, A. U. C. 794. By his birth, and his father's intention, who carried him in his arms and recommended him as heir-apparent to the affections of the army, he was next in succession to the sovereignty; but by the artful policy of Agrippina, the fourth wife of Claudius, he was postponed to Nero, and afterwards destroyed by poison in the fourteenth year of his age, A. U. C. 808.—Suet. life of Claudius, § 27. Tacit. Annals, xii. 25; xiii. 15, 16.

For Octavia, the sister of Britannicus, see No. 39.

For Agrippina, the mother of Nero by Domitius Ænobarbus, and afterwards the wife of Claudius, see No. 93.

THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.



HISTORY OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

CT. I. THE era from which it is my intention to duce the following narration is the second consul-ip of Servius Galba, when Titus Vinius was his col-ague in office. Of the antecedent period, including space of eight hundred and twenty years[1] from the undation of Rome, the history has been composed various authors, who, as long as they had before em the transactions[2] of the Roman people, dignified eir work with eloquence equal to the subject, and a irit of freedom worthy of the old republic. After e battle of Actium, when, to close the scene of civil straction, all power and authority were surrendered a single ruler, the historic character disappeared, d genius died by the same blow that ended public perty. Truth was reduced to the last gasp, and rious circumstances conspired against her. A new

1 Tacitus computes 820 years from the foundation of Rome the end of Nero, when the following History begins. The ttle of Actium was in the year of Rome 723; from that time e reigns of Augustus and the succeeding emperors form a riod of ninety-eight years to the end of Nero, who died . U.C. 821.

2 The history of Rome to the end of the republic is empha-ally called by Tacitus the history of the Roman people. *om the battle of Actium* it is properly the history of the *perors.*

Romans; the Dacian name ennobled by alte
tory and defeat; and, finally, the Parthians t
field under the banners of a pretended Nero.
course of the work we shall see Italy overwhel
calamities; new wounds inflicted, and the o
time had closed, opened again and bleedin
cities sacked by the enemy, or swallowed up
quakes,[2] and the fertile country of Campani
scene of desolation; Rome laid waste by
ancient and most venerable temples smokin
ground; the capitol[3] wrapt in flames by the
frantic citizens; the holy ceremonies of reli
lated; adultery reigning without control; the
islands filled with exiles; rocks and dese
stained with clandestine murder, and Rom
theatre of horror; where nobility of descent, a
dor of fortune, marked men out for destructi
the vigor of mind that aimed at civil dignitie
modesty that declined them, were offences wi
tinction; where virtue was a crime that led
ruin; where the guilt of informers, and th
their iniquity, were alike detestable; where
dotal order, the consular dignity, the gove
provinces,[4] and even the cabinet of the pr

1 For more of the pretended Nero, see Hist.
Parthians were on the point of declaring war in f
ther impostor, who took the name of Nero, in t
Titus, A. U. C. 834, and afterwards in the reig
tian, A. U. C. 841.

2 The cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii were
by an eruption of the lava of Mount Vesuvius, ir
ning of Titus' reign, A. U. C. 832.

3 See the conflagration of the capitol, Hist. iii.

4 Collectors of the imperial revenue were instit
emperors, in order to intrench on the power of
suls, who were the proper officers in all the pr
remained under the authority of the senate. In

zed by that execrable race, as their lawful prey; ere nothing was sacred, nothing safe, from the hand rapacity; where slaves were suborned, or, by their n malevolence, excited against their masters; where edmen betrayed their patrons; and he who had ed without an enemy[1] died by the treachery of a end.

II. And yet this melancholy period, barren as it s of public virtue, produced some examples of truth l honor. Mothers went with their sons into voluny exile; wives followed the fortune of their husds; relations stood forth in the cause of their unppy kindred; sons appeared in defence of their hers; slaves on the rack gave proofs of their fidelity; inent citizens, under the hard hand of oppression, re reduced to want and misery, and, even in that tress, retained an unconquered spirit. We shall others firm to the last, and, in their deaths, nothing erior to the applauded characters of antiquity. In dition to the misfortunes usual in the course of hu- transactions, we shall see the earth teeming with odigies, the sky overcast with omens, thunder rolling th dreadful denunciation, and a variety of progstics, sometimes auspicious, often big with terror, casionally uncertain, dark, equivocal; frequently rect and manifest. In a word, the gods never gave ch terrible instructions, nor, by the slaughter of nies, made it so clear and evident that, instead of tending protection[2] to the empire, it was their awful

sed to the office of imperial procurators, and obtained ight and influence in the cabinet.

1 The treachery of friends was the scourge and pest of iety for several years. Trajan repressed the mischief. s his praise for that public benefit in Pliny's Panegyric, 2.

2 *Some of the commentators* have objected to the sentiment

pleasure to let fall their vengeance on the cri
offending people.

IV. Before we take up the thread of our
it will not be useless to inquire what, in tha
was the state of affairs at Rome, and what
that went forth among her armies; how the
stood affected, and wherein consisted the st
weakness of the empire. By proceeding in
ner, we shall not content ourselves with a ba
of facts, which are often ascribed to chance:
see the spring of each transaction, and a regu
of causes and effects will be laid open to our

The death of Nero, in the first tumult of
was considered as a public blessing; but th
the people of Rome, the pretorian guards,
legions, wherever stationed, were variously a
that event. A new political secret was the
first time discovered. It was perceived that
than at Rome an emperor might be invested
sovereign power. The fathers seized the op
during the absence of a prince yet new[1] to th
government to exercise their ancient rights
with the novelty of freedom, and the resu
their legislative authority. The Roman knigh
the flame of liberty. Honest men began to
hopes of the constitution. Such as stood
with families of credit, and the various cl
freedmen of illustrious men driven into exile

expressed by Tacitus in this place. Brotier calls
sententia.' But what is the fair construction?]
The crimes of the Roman people were such
could no longer expect the protection of the gods.
drawn down the vengeance of heaven. Lucan ha
sentiment. See Cicero to the same effect, De Nat
iii. 32.

1 Galba, who was not arrived from Spain.

erect with expectation of better times. The inferior populace, who loitered away their time in the theatre and the circus; the slaves of abandoned characters, and the sycophant crew, who, without substance of their own, had been pampered by the vices of Nero; all of that description stood covered with astonishment, yet panting for news, and eagerly swallowing the rumor of the day.

V. The pretorian guards[1] had been, by habit and the obligation of their oath, always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not so much their own inclination as the management of their leaders. Acting without principle, they now were ready for new commotions. The promise of a donative in the name of Galba was still to be performed. They knew that war is the soldier's harvest. Peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompense due to valor; and the favors of the new prince would be engrossed by the legions, to whom he owed his elevation. Fired by these reflections, and farther instigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus,[2] their commanding officer, whose ambition aimed at the imperial dignity, they began to meditate a second revolution.

The conspiracy was crushed in the bud, and Nymphidius perished in the attempt. But the soldiers had thrown off the mask, and the sense of guilt served only to goad and spur their resolution. They talked of Galba with contempt and ridicule; they laughed at his advanced age; they inveighed against his avarice: and his rigorous discipline[3] by which he had acquired his

1 The pretorian guards had shown themselves at all times firmly attached to the Cæsarean family.

2 For an account of Nymphidius and his rash ambition, see the Appendix to the sixteenth book of the Annals.

3 The *rigor with which* Galba supported and enforced *military discipline is* stated by Suetonius.

military character, inflamed the prejudices of men who had been enervated by a long peace of fourteen years. During that time the dissolute manners of Nero diffused a general corruption, insomuch that the virtues, which formerly gained the affection of the army, were fallen into contempt. Nero was endeared to the soldiers by his vices. Galba, on the contrary, was rendered unpopular by the austerity of his manners. He was used to say, that he chose his soldiers, but he never bought them. The maxim was worthy of the old republic, but no man thought it an effusion from the heart. His conduct and his words were too much at variance.

VI. Galba, being now in the decline of life, resigned himself altogether to Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco the former the most profligate of men, and the latter despised for his sluggish inactivity. By those pernicious ministers he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedness of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome by slow journeys, in his progress marking his way with blood and cruelty. Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, were by his orders put to death; the former, as an accomplice in the enterprise of Nymphidius, and the latter, because he had been appointed to command the army under Nero. They were condemned unheard, and for that reason thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy.

Galba's entry into the city of Rome, after the massacre of several thousands of unarmed and defenceless soldiers, struck a general panic. The people at large were thrown into consternation, and even the men who executed the orders of their general stood

astonished at the horrors of the scene. Rome at that time was filled with a prodigious body of troops, assembled from various parts of the empire. Besides the forces drawn from the fleet, and left as a garrison by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To these must be added the several companies from Germany,[1] from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been sent forward towards the Caspian straits, to serve in the war then intended against the Albanians. In a short time afterwards, on the first notice of the revolt excited in Gaul by the turbulent genius of Vindex, they were all recalled; and the consequence was, that Rome saw within her walls the unusual spectacle of a vast military force. In so large a number of soldiers, not yet devoted to the interest of a single leader, the seed-plots of a new rebellion were prepared, and ready to break out on the first alarm.

VII. It happened at this point of time that an account arrived of two murders, committed at a distance from Rome; one of Clodius Macer in Africa, and the other of Fonteius Capito in Germany. Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in schemes of ambition, and in the midst of his projects was cut off by Trebonius Garrucianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens, on a like suspicion of plotting innovations in the state. But the charge against him was by no means clear, nor had the emperor issued his orders. The general opinion was, that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes

1 The forces from Britain and Germany, which Nero had sent *forward on a wild expedition* to the straits of the Caspian sea, *were all recalled to quell* the insurrection of Vindex in Gaul.

the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors o
struction, having first endeavored to draw
their own designs, combined to execute on an
victim the vengeance due to their own iniquit

Galba, with his usual facility, or perhaps
to avoid the danger of an inquiry into what c
be recalled, thought it prudent to give his sa
the acts of his officers, however unjust ar
Both executions were, notwithstanding, the s
public clamor; the usual fate of all unpopular
their actions, when the current of the tim
against them, are taken in the gross, and
good or evil, condemned without distinction.
and corruption were now fully established.
peror's freedmen engrossed the whole pow
state, and every thing was put up to sale.
slaves, in haste to grow rich, and fearing
certainty of an old man's life, began to s
share of the plunder. The new court opene
the vices of Nero's reign, but without the same
The advanced age [1] of Galba was a subject of
Dissipation, at his time of life, excited lau
contempt. Appearances are the reasons of t
lace: they were accustomed to the youthful
Nero, and in their comparison of princes, e
figure and the graces of deportment are decis
ties.

VIII. Such was the posture of affairs at I
such the sentiments that pervaded the ma
people. With regard to the provinces, S
governed by Cluvius Rufus,[2] a man disting

1 Galba, at his elevation to the imperial digni
venty-three years old. See the Appendix to Ann
2 Cluvius Rufus was a writer of history. Pliny
says he told his friend Verginius, 'If you m

eloquence, and well accomplished in the arts of ıce, but of no reputation in war. In both the Gauls name of Vindex was still held in veneration; and people, pleased with their recent admission to the edom[1] of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, ›wed no symptoms of disaffection. In those parts, wever, which lay contiguous to the German armies inhabitants of the several cities saw with discon- t that they were not thought worthy of the like in- lgence. Some of them complained that their terri- ies were circumscribed within narrow limits; and vulgar minds the good extended to others was an ɣravation of the injury done to themselves.

The legions in Germany did not show a countenance ıt promised a perfect calm. The restless temper of soldiers, by their late victory[2] flushed with pride, t dreading the imputation of having conquered Gal- 's party, was thrown into violent agitations, by turns lamed with rage and overwhelmed with fear. From ch a number of soldiers, who had the power of the ord in their own hands, nothing but danger was to apprehended. They balanced for some time before ey detached themselves from Nero: nor did Vergi- ıs, their commanding officer, declare immediately for ılba. Whether that tardy movement was occasioned his own ambitious projects cannot now be known.

ng in my history that gives you offence, you will be so ɔd as to remember that history must not betray the cause truth.'—'You know,' replied Verginius, 'that whatever I re done, it has been ever my wish to have all my actions thfully related by such a writer as yourself.'

1 The people of Gaul who stood for Vindex were the Se- ani, the Ædui, and the Arverni. The states that lay near e legions on the Upper and Lower Rhine were the Lingo- s and the Remi.

2 The *German armies* obtained a complete victory over *ndex at Vesontium.*

The soldiers, it is certain, made him a te
imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius
another cause of discontent. Even such as
deny the justice of the measure exclaimed
with indignation. While the minds of men
distracted with contending passions Galba
under a show of friendship, to recall Vergi
his post. The legions had now no chief at
and if the conduct of their general was arrai
considered themselves as men involved in
accusation.

IX. The legions on the Upper Rhine w
tained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccu
far advanced in years, without vigor of min
in his limbs, and by his infirmities exposi
and old age to scorn. Unequal to the com
in quiet times, he was now in a camp full
turbulent spirits, unable to support his auth
endeavors to enforce obedience served only
the minds of men disposed to mutiny. On
Rhine the army had been for some time
general of consular rank, till Aulus Vitell
the person of that name who had been censo
times consul, was sent by Galba to take
command. This to Galba seemed sufficie
Fates[3] ordained it.

1 Verginius commanded the legions on the U

Britain every thing was quiet. The legions sta-
:d in that island had no party divisions to distract
ı. During the civil wars that followed they took
art in the contest. Situated at a distance, and di-
d by the ocean from the rest of the world, they did
:atch the epidemic frensy of the times. They knew
nemies but those of their country, and were not
ht by civil disorder to hate one another. Illyricum
ıined in a state of tranquillity, though the legions
n by Nero from that country found the means,
e they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Ver-
ıs. But the armies were at distant stations, sepa-
l by a long tract of sea or land; and that circum-
:e proved the best expedient to prevent a combi-
ın of the military. They could neither act with a
t of union, nor by communicating their vices
ad a general infection through the legions that lay
ote from each other.

. The east was hitherto free from commotion. Li-
ıs Mucianus governed the province of Syria with
legions under his command. He was an officer of
rience, distinguished, in the early part of his life,
lternate vicissitudes of good and evil fortune. In
youth the favor of the great was the object of his
ition, and in that pursuit he wasted his fortune.
circumstances growing desperate, and a storm im-
ling from the displeasure of Claudius, he retired
Asia, and there lived in obscurity, as little re-
ed from the state and condition of a real exile, as
'as afterwards from the splendor of imperial for-

According to some the true reading is, 'id satis vide-
', that by Galba was thought sufficient;' according to
s, 'id fatis videbatur, the fates ordained it.' The last
the manner of Tacitus, and therefore adopted in the
'stion.

tune. He united in his character a rare
ful mixture of repugnant qualities. He
and arrogant: addicted to pleasure, and
starts a man of business. When at leisure
he gave a loose to his luxurious passion
terest required it, he came on mankind w
talents. The minister was praised, and
man detested. The art of conciliating th
of others was his in an eminent degree.
feriors he knew how to soften authority; t
and equals his address was courtly; an
these attractive arts, a man so various
raise others to the imperial dignity than
for himself.

The war against the Jews had been c
Nero to Flavius Vespasian, who was then
the head of three legions. That commande
no design, nor even a wish, against the
Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome
seen hereafter, with congratulations to G
surances of fidelity. It was not then pe
the sovereign power was destined by th
Heaven for Vespasian and his two sons
accession, portents and prodigies, and th
of oracles, were better understood.

XI. Egypt, and the forces stationed the
the several provinces, were, according to
established by Augustus, confided to
knights, who exercised all the powers of
kings. In order to keep in subjection a c
cult of access, and at the same time a gran
where the genius of the people,[1] deeply

1 *It* has been mentioned in former notes th
policy of Augustus to keep the management
great corn market of Rome, in his own hands

perstition, was ever wavering, and prone to change; here there was no plan of regular government, and consequence no respect paid to the civil magistrate; was the policy of Augustus to retain the administration, like a mystery of state, in his own hands, and der his own cabinet council. In the present juncre,[1] Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was trusted with the government of the province.

Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, since e murder of Clodius Macer, grown indifferent to all odes of government. Having experienced the auority of an inferior master, they were willing to subit to any prince. The two Mauritanias, Rhætia, oricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to e care of imperial procurators, had no fixed princile, no hatred, and no affection, but what was inspired y the force nearest at hand. They were always united opinion with the strongest. The provinces, which ere left naked and defenceless, and Italy in particur, were open to the first invader, the ready prey of y conqueror. Such was the situation of the Roman orld when Servius Galba, in his second consulship, d Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; fatal year, which brought them both to a tragic tastrophe, and the commonwealth to the brink of in.

XII. In a few days after the calends of January tters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, e procurator of Belgic Gaul,[2] with intelligence of a

on of Tacitus is remarkable; to reserve the administration r his own cabinet council. See Annals, ii. 59.

1 Tiberius Alexander is said to be a native of Egypt; but, qualify him for the office of governor, he was made a Roan knight. He was probably the same person who is men-*oned Annals xv. 28.*

2 *Belgic Gaul began* from the Scheld (L'Escaut), and ex-

revolt in Upper Germany. The legions in that quarter, disregarding the obligation of their oath, shook off all obedience, and demanded another emperor; willing, however, to soften the violence of their proceedings, and for that purpose to leave the choice to the judgment of the senate and the Roman people. The use that Galba made of this intelligence was to hasten the adoption of a successor; a point which he had for some time revolved in his mind, and often discussed with his secret advisers. During the few months of his reign no subject had so much engrossed the public conversation. The people, always politicians, and fond of settling state affairs, gave a loose to their usual freedom of speech; and besides, an emperor on the verge of life made it natural to advert to the succession. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connexions suggested various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamored, as their hopes or fears directed. Titus Vinius did not escape the notice of the public. He grew in power every day, and the hatred of the people kept pace with his rising grandeur. In the sudden elevation of Galba, this man and his adherents, with all the creatures of the court, saw their opportunity to enrich themselves with the spoils of their country; and encouraged as they were by the facility of a weak, a credulous, and superannuated prince, they were resolved to lose no time. In such a period the temptation was great, and guilt might hope to plunder with impunity.

XIII. The whole sovereign power was in the hands

tended to the river Sequana (the Seine). The revolt of the *legions* on the Upper Rhine is related by Suetonius, in Galba, *§ 16.*

Vinius, the consul, and Cornelius Laco, the
of the pretorian guards. A third favorite soon
d on the political stage, with a degree of in-
not inferior to either of the former. The name
nan was Icelus, one of the emperor's freedmen,
eated a Roman knight, and, to suit his new
honored with the name of Martianus. The
onfidential ministers were soon at variance.
ashed in interest, and in all inferior trans-
drew different ways; but in the choice of a
or they were divided into two factions. Vinius
l for Marcus Otho; Laco and Icelus joined in
on to that measure, not so much to favor a
f their own, as to thwart the designs of a rival.
vas not to learn the close connexion that sub-
etween Vinius and Otho. The busy politicians,
e to pry into every thing, and divulge all they
ıd all they think, had circulated a report that
the ear of the emperor. Vinius had a daughter,
time a widow; Otho was unmarried, and a
between them would make the minister the
n-law of his future emperor.

ı resolved to act with caution, and with due
to the public welfare. He saw the sovereign
vrested out of the hands of Nero, but wrested
if transferred to a man like Otho; a stranger,
s earliest days, to every fair pursuit, and in the
of manhood distinguished by nothing but riot
bauchery. It was his taste for luxury and
pleasures that first recommended him to the
f Nero. He vied with his master in all kinds
pation, and in consequence of that connexion
the worthy depository to whom the prince in-
the care of his dearly beloved Poppæa till
ne as Octavia was by a divorce removed out

of the way. But Otho's fidelity soon beca
Nero's jealousy could not bear a rival.
favorite companion to govern the prov
tania, and under that pretext banish
Rome. It is true that Otho, in the cour
ministration, gained by his mild and co
no small degree of popularity. In the l
he was the first to espouse the inter
While the war lasted he continued an ac
and by his splendid appearance did no
to the cause. Hence his hopes of bein
succession. The soldiers favored his pre
the creatures of Nero's court promise
under a sovereign so nearly resembling
a return of the same vices.

XIV. Galba saw with deep anxiety a
ing in Germany, and where it would b
not foresee. Of Vitellius and his desig
account arrived. The revolt of the legi
with apprehensions, and he reposed no
the pretorian guards. The nomination
seemed, in such a crisis, to be the best e
for that purpose he held a cabinet cou
Vinius and Laco, he thought proper to su
Celsus, consul elect, and Ducennius Gem
fect of the city. Having prefaced the
short speech concerning his age and infir
for Piso Licinianus; whether of his ow
or at the instigation of Laco, remains un
minister had lived in friendship with P
tracted an intimacy with him at the hous
Plautus, though he had now the addre
that connexion, affecting, with public m
commend a stranger. To this conduct t
in which Piso was held gave an appe

rity. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scri-
nia, both of illustrious descent. His aspect was
ave and his deportment formal; such as gave an
ea of primitive manners. By the candid and im-
rtial he was called strict and severe; by his enemies
orose and sullen. With great excellencies, he had a
ixture of those qualities that are often the shades of
ninent virtue; but those very shades, which seemed
) others too dark and gloomy, in the eyes of Galba
ere the strokes of character that gave Piso a cast of
ntiquity, and made him worthy to be the adopted heir
) the empire.

XV. Galba, we are told, taking Piso by the hand, ddressed him in the following manner: 'If the adop-on which I am now to make were, like the act of a rivate citizen, to be acknowleged, as the law Curiata[1] irects, in the presence of the pontiffs, I should derive onor to myself from an alliance with a person de-:ended from the great Pompey and Marcus Crassus; id, in return, you would add to the nobility of your wn family the lustre of the Sulpician and Lutatian ame. I now address you in a more exalted cha-ıcter. It is the emperor of Rome that speaks. Called y the consent of the gods and men to that high sta-on, I am now determined in my choice by your rare :complishments, and the love I feel for my country. invite you to the imperial dignity; that dignity for hich our ancestors led armies to the field, and which myself obtained in battle. Without your stir I now ake to you a voluntary offer. For this proceeding I ave before me the example of Augustus, who asso-

1 Romulus classed the citizens of Rome in thirty curiæ, nd from that circumstance the *Lex Curiata* took its name. he law was enacted by the people assembled in their seve-l *curiæ*. *See Annals, xi. 22.*

ciated to himself, first his sister's son Ma
then Agrippa his son-in-law, his grandsons
and finally Tiberius, the son of his wife.
indeed looked for an heir in his own family
in the bosom of the commonwealth. If
occasion I could listen to private affectio
numerous train of relations, and I have con
war. But it was not from motives of pride
cepted the sovereignty of the state: ambit
share in my conduct. I brought with me
of government an upright intention; and
act on the same principle may be fairly see
my present choice I postpone not only my
tions, but even those of your own family.
a brother, in point of nobility your equa
ority of birth your superior; and, if you
not supersede him, a man worthy of the h
vation.

'You are now at the time of life at whic
sions subside. Your former conduct requi
logy. Fortune has hitherto[1] frowned on
must now beware of her smiles. Prosperi
human heart with the deepest probe, and
the hidden character. We struggle with
but success disarms us. I trust however
will carry with you to the highest station
of your mind, your good faith, your indepen
and your constancy in friendship; virtues
and dignify the human character: but the
sidious men will lay siege to your best qu
undermine them all. Dissimulation will de

1 Piso's father, mother, and brother, were pu
Claudius. Another brother (the conspiracy a
being detected) opened his veins and bled to
Annals, xv. 59.

flattery will find admission to your heart; and self-interest, the bane of all true affection, will lay snares to seduce your integrity. To-day you and I converse without disguise, in terms of plain simplicity: how will others deal with us? Their respect will be paid to our fortunes, not to ourselves. To talk the language of sincerity to a prince, and guide him by honest counsels, is a laborious task: to play the hypocrite requires no more than to humor his inclinations, whatever they are. It is the grimace of friendship: the heart has no share in the business.

XVI. 'If the mighty fabric of this great empire could subsist on any other foundation than that of a monarchy, the glory of restoring the old republic should this day be mine. But at my age all that remains for me is to bequeath to the people an able successor: your youth may give them a virtuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we were all the property of one family. By hereditary right the Roman world was theirs. The prince is now elective, and the freedom of choice is liberty. The Julian and the Claudian race are both extinct, and virtue may now succeed by adoption. To be born the son of a prince is the result of chance; mankind consider it in no higher light. The method of adoption allows time to deliberate, and the public voice will serve as a guide to direct the judgment of the emperor. Let Nero be for ever before your eyes: proud of his long line of ancestors, and warm with the blood of the Cæsars, he did not fall by the revolt of Vindex, at the head of a province naked and disarmed; nor was he deposed by me, who had only one legion under my command: his own vices, his own cruelty, hurled him from his throne, no more to trample on the necks of mankind. Of a

prince condemned by a public sentence t
then no example.

'As to myself, raised as I was by the e
and called to the sovereignty by the voice
people, I know what I have to expec
malice may pursue me, but the glory o
shall still be mine. After the storm that
the empire, you will not wonder that a
has not succeeded; and if two legions w
duty, your courage must not be discou
reign did not begin in the halcyon days of
age, at present, is the objection urged
but when it is known whom I have ad
appear young in my successor. Nero is s
by the vile and profligate: that good n
regret him, it will be ours to provide b
conduct. More than I have said the t
admit: if I have made a proper choice
charged my duty. One rule however th
of your consideration. In all questions
evil, ask yourself, when you were a subje
you expect from the prince, and what c
him to avoid? It is not at Rome as in
vernments, where one family towers abo
and their subjects groan in bondage.
reign over the Roman people; a people
treme will suit: when in full possessio
enemies to their own happiness; when
slavery, impatient of the yoke.' To this
delivered himself, little doubting but that
creating a prince: the courtiers consid
complete legal act, and paid their hom
future sovereign.

XVII. During the whole of this solem

Piso, we are told, never lost the even tenor of his mind. From the first moment all eyes were fixed on him; yet, on his part, no emotion was seen, no symptom of joy, no surprise, no confusion. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance never betrayed the smallest inward alteration. He behaved with the apathy of a man who deserved to reign, but did not desire it. The next consideration was, in what place the adoption should be announced; in the forum before an assembly of the people, in the senate, or in the camp. The latter was thought most eligible: the army would feel the compliment; the affections of the soldiers, though of little value if purchased by bribery and low intrigue, are, notwithstanding, when they are gained by fair and honorable means, always of moment, and never to be neglected. Meanwhile, the populace rushing in crowds from every quarter, surrounded the palace, burning with impatience for the important news, and growing still more eager in proportion to the delay of the profound politicians, who affected an air of mystery, when the secret had already transpired.

XVIII. On the fourth of the ides of January the weather was uncommonly tempestuous, accompanied with heavy rains, thunder and lightning, and all the uproar of the elements, which usually alarms the superstition of the multitude. In ancient times this phenomenon would have been sufficient[1] to dissolve all public assemblies: but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpose. He proceeded to the camp, regard-

1 Thunder and lightning were always considered by the Romans as a warning not to transact public business; Cicero *De Divinatione, ii. 18.*

less of prodigies, which he considered as the effect of natural causes; or, it may be, that what is fixed by fate cannot by human prudence be avoided. A vast conflux of soldiers assembled in the camp. Galba addressed them in a short speech, such as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Augustus, and the practice of the army, where each soldier chooses his companion in war,[1] he had adopted Piso for his son. Fearing that his silence on the subject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to tumult and disorder: but their violence went no farther than words, and he had no doubt but they would soon be sensible of their error. Such was his plain and manly language. He added no flattering expressions, no soothing hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithstanding, and the centurions and soldiers who stood nearest to his person, raised a shout of approbation. Through the rest of the lines a deep and sullen silence prevailed. The men saw, with discontent, that on the eve of a war they were deprived of those gratuities which had been granted in time of peace, and were now become the soldier's right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to secure the affections of the soldiers. From a parsimonious old man the smallest mark of liberality would have made an impression. But in an age that could no longer bear the

1 According to a military custom, established in an early period of the commonwealth, every Roman soldier chose his favorite comrade, and by that tie of friendship all were *mutually* bound to share every danger with their fellows. The *consequence* was that a warlike spirit pervaded the whole *army*. See Livy, ix. 39.

virtues of the old republic rigid economy was out of season, and by consequence the worst of policy.

XIX. From the camp Galba proceeded to the senate. His speech, like that to the soldiers, was short, unadorned, and simple. Piso delivered himself with grace and eloquence. The fathers heard him with attention; some with real affection, and others who in their hearts opposed his interest with overacted zeal; while the neutral and indifferent (by far the greatest number) made a tender of their services, all with private views, regardless of their country. This was the only public act in which Piso appeared. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) he neither said nor did any thing that merits the attention of history.

Affairs in Germany began to wear a gloomy aspect. Messengers on the heels of one another came posting to Rome; and in a city where men stood athirst for news, and swallowed the worst with avidity, nothing was seen but hurry and confusion. The fathers resolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a secret council it was proposed that Piso should set out at the head of the embassy, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the senate, and the majesty of the empire. It was farther thought advisable that Laco, the prefect of the pretorian guards, should accompany the deputation; but he declined the office. Nor was the choice of the ambassadors easily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's judgment, and he executed it with caprice and shameful indecision. Men were appointed, and removed; others were substituted, and changed again; some excused themselves; numbers, as fear or ambition prompted, made interest for the preference, or *for permission to* remain at home.

XX. The means of raising money came next u consideration. Various expedients were proposed none appeared so just as that of making reprisal such as by their rapacity impoverished the com wealth. Nero had lavished in pensions and dona above two-and-twenty millions of sesterces. The who had enriched themselves by this wild profi were allowed to retain a tenth part of the plu and condemned to refund the rest. But their part was no longer in their possession. Prodig less of the public money than of their own, they squandered all in riot and debauchery. They neither lands nor funds of any kind. The wre their fortunes consisted of little more than the ut of luxury, vice, and folly. To enforce a resum of all enormous grants, a court of commissioner established, consisting of thirty Roman knights. tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and more so for its number of officers, and the spi cabal that prevailed in every part of the busi was found vexatious and oppressive. The aucti planted his staff in every street; the public crie heard; sales and confiscations were seen; a ge ferment spread through the city. And yet this of distress was beheld with pleasure. The men had been pillaged by Nero saw the minions of emperor reduced to a level with themselves. the same time several tribunes were discharged the service. In that number were Antonius T and Antonius Naso, both of the pretorian gu Æmilius Pacensis, from the city cohorts, and J Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, so far being a remedy, served only to alarm and irrita *rest of* the officers. They concluded that all *equally* suspected, and that a timid court, not

at once to go the length of its resentment, would proceed to cull them out man by man.

XXI. Otho, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but despair; trouble and confusion were his only source of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince,[1] and his fortune was sunk to the lowest ebb, below the condition of a private man. He hated Galba, and he saw Piso with an eye of envy. To these incentives he added real or imaginary fears for his own personal safety, and in those fears he found new motives for rebellion. 'He had felt the weight of Nero's displeasure; and must he now wait for a second Lusitania? Was he to expect, under color of friendship, another honorable banishment? The man whom the public voice has named for the succession is sure to be suspected by the reigning prince. It was that jealousy that ruined his interest with a superannuated emperor; and the same narrow motive would act with greater force on the mind of a young man,[2] by nature harsh, and in his exile grown fierce and savage. Otho was perhaps already doomed to destruction. But the authority of Galba was on the decline, and that of Piso not yet established. This was therefore the time to strike a sudden blow. The convulsions of states, and the change of masters, afford the true season for courage

1 See in Suetonius an account of Otho's circumstances, and his expensive luxury. Otho did not scruple to say that nothing short of the imperial power could save him from utter ruin; and whether he died in battle, or fell a victim to his creditors, was immaterial.

2 Piso had been by Nero ordered into exile, and might probably return with a mind exasperated, and deep-smothered resentment, according to the verses made against Tiberius during his retreat to the isle of Rhodes.

and vigorous enterprise. In such a per activity is certain ruin, and bold ten crowned with success, to linger in doubt ruin of his cause. To die is the common nity. In the grave, the only distinction those who leave no trace behind, and the who transmit their names to posterity. same end awaits alike the guilty and the man of enterprise will provoke his fat the scene with glory.'

XXII. The mind of Otho was not lil soft and effeminate. His slaves and free a course of luxury unknown to priv They flattered their master's taste; the him in lively colors the joys of Nero's c perpetual round of gay delights in w passed his days; they represented to l without control, the choice of wives and and scenes of revelry scarcely known princes. These, if he dared nobly, they to him as his own: if he remained ina prize of others. The judicial astrolog spur to inflame his ardor. They anno events, and to Otho a year of glory. perhaps never known a more dangerous p

1 The character of Otho, as here delineated b pencil of Tacitus, is finely copied by Corneille intitled Otho. A review of the various passa transplanted into the French play would be amusement to every reader of taste, but cannot within the limits of a note. It will be suffi what Corneille himself has said in the preface t He makes it his boast that he translated as muc bly could; and it does not appear that the ma of that day charged him with petty larceny, or with virulence for the use which he thought of a great historian.

race of impostors, who had been ever ready with vile infusions to poison the hearts of princes, and to stimulate ambition to its ruin; a set of perfidious men, proscribed by law, and yet, in defiance of all law, cherished in such a city as Rome.

It was with this crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held consultations when she aspired to the imperial bed. It happened that one of these pretenders to preternatural knowlege, a man of the name of Ptolemy, accompanied Otho into Spain. He had there foretold that Otho would survive the reign of Nero; and the event giving credit to his art, he took on him to promise greater things. He saw Galba on the verge of life, and Otho in the vigor of his days. From that circumstance, and the currents of popular rumor that filled the city of Rome, this man drew his conjectures, and ventured to announce Otho's elevation to the imperial dignity. These bodings were welcome to the ear of Otho: he considered them as the effect of science, and believed the whole with that credulity which, in a mind inflamed with ambition, stands ready to receive the marvellous for reality. From this time Ptolemy was the chief actor in the dark scenes that followed. He inspired the plan of treason, and Otho embraced it with impetuous ardor. The heart that has formed the wish, and conceived the project, has seldom any scruple about the means.

XXIII. Whether this bold conspiracy was then first imagined, or prepared and settled long before, cannot now be known. It is however certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, and this, either with a view of being called to the succession, or if not, with a design to seize it by force. He omitted no opportunity to ingratiate himself with the *common men*; on their march, in the lines, at their

quarters, he made it his business to conve
with all; he accosted the veterans by name
membering their services under Nero, called
brother-soldiers; he renewed his acquaint
some; he inquired after others, and with hi
and his purse was ready to be their friend.
discourses he took care to mingle complaints,
half-hinted malignity, to glance at Galba. H
nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with d
The soldiers were prepared to receive the
pressions. Fatiguing marches, provisions ill
and a plan of rigorous discipline lately revive
their hearts against the reigning prince.
known gentler times, when, at their ease,
versed the lakes of Campania, and went
parties to the cities of Achaia: but now the
changed to the Alps, the Pyrenees, and l
of country, where they were to march unc
of armor scarce supportable.

XXIV. While the minds of the soldier
these means, thrown into violent agitations
Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, add
the flame. Whoever was known to be of a
versatile disposition, in distress for money,
public commotions, this man attracted to
He sapped his way with a degree of dexteri
perceived as it was successful. As often as
entertained at Otho's house he distributed
hort on duty a hundred sesterces for every n
color of an allowance for their usual conviv
This generosity, which passed under the
largess, was increased by the secret but we
bribery of Otho; who became at last a co
bold and open, that when Cocceius Procul
dier of the body-guard, was engaged in

with one of his neighbors about the boundaries of their respective grounds, Otho bought the whole estate of the adverse party, and conveyed it to the soldier as a present. And yet these practices gave no jealousy to the commander of the pretorian bands. To penetrate dark transactions was so far from being his talent, that he could not see what escaped no eye but his own.

XXV. Otho took into his councils one of his freedmen, by name Onomastus. This man was chosen to conduct the enterprise. He selected for his accomplices Barbius Proculus, whose duty it was to bear the watchword to the night-guard, and one Veturius, his chosen assistant. Otho sounded them apart; and finding them fit instruments for his purposes, subtle, dark, and resolute, he loaded them both with presents, and dismissed them with a sum of money, to be employed in bribing the rest of the guards. In this manner, two soldiers undertook to dispose of the Roman empire, and what they undertook they dared to execute. A few only were conscious of the plot. The rest, though held in suspense, were managed with such dexterity, that they stood in readiness, as soon as the blow was struck, to second the conspirators. The soldiers of note were told, that having been distinguished by Nymphidius, they lived in danger, suspected, and exposed to the resentment of Galba. The loss of the donative so often promised, and still withheld, was the topic enforced to irritate the minds of the common men. Numbers lamented the loss of Nero, and the agreeable vices of that dissolute reign. All were averse from the new plan of discipline, and the idea of a farther reform diffused a general terror.

XXVI. The spirit of disaffection spread, as it were *by contagion, to the* legions and the auxiliary troops, all

sufficiently agitated by the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were ready for any mischief; and among the few of sober conduct inactivity was no better than treason in disguise. The conspirators saw their advantage; insomuch that, on the day ensuing the ides of January, they formed a resolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from supper, and without farther delay proclaim him emperor. This project however did not take effect. In the darkness of the night, and the confusion inseparable from it, no man could answer for the consequences. The city was full of soldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted measure could be expected. The traitors desisted from their purpose, but with no public motive. The general welfare made no impression on men who had conspired to imbrue their hands in the blood of their sovereign. What they chiefly feared was, that the first who offered himself to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by those strangers, and in the tumult of the dark, be mistaken for Otho, and saluted by the title of emperor. The plot, checked for the present, began to transpire, and must have been by various circumstances brought to light, had not the chief conspirators labored to suppress all appearances of lurking treason. Some facts however reached the ears of Galba; but the folly of Laco explained every thing away, and by consequence the emperor was lulled into security. The prefect of the guards had no knowlege of the military character. Nothing could open the eyes of a man who opposed every measure, however excellent, which did not originate with himself. By the perversity of his nature, he was always at variance with talents and superior *judgment*.

XXVII. On the eighteenth day before the calends

of February Galba assisted at a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo. In the midst of the ceremony Umbricius the augur, after inspecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treason, and a lurking enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who stood near the emperor, heard this prediction, but interpreted it in his own favor, pleased with omens that promised so well to his cause. In that moment Onomastus came to inform him that his builders and surveyors were waiting to talk with him on business. This, as had been concerted, was a signal that the conspirators were ready to throw off the mask, and strike the decisive blow. Otho quitted the temple, having first told such as wondered at his sudden departure that, being on the point of purchasing certain farm-houses, not in good repair, he had appointed workmen to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain. Having made that feigned excuse he walked off arm-in-arm with his freedman; and passing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went directly to the great market-place, called the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-pillar near the temple of Saturn. At that place a small party of the pretorian soldiers, in number not exceeding three-and-twenty, saluted him emperor. The sight of such an insignificant handful of men struck him with dismay; but his partisans drew their swords, and placing him in a litter, carried him off in triumph. They were joined in their way by an equal number, some of them accomplices in the treason: others, in wonder and astonishment, hurried along by the current. The conspirators, brandishing their swords, and rending the air with acclamations, pursued their course, while numbers followed in profound silence, determined to *see the issue before* they took a decided part.

XXVIII. Julius Martialis, a military tri
at that time commanding officer in the camp
at a treason so bold and daring, and perhaps
that it extended wider, he made no attempt
the torrent. His inactivity had the appea
confederacy in guilt. The rest of the tribune
turions followed the same line of caution, in
citude for their own safety losing all sens
and of every public principle. Such, in thi
crisis, was the disposition of the camp: a
tious incendiaries dared to attempt a revolu
wished to see it, and all were willing to acq

XXIX. Galba, in the mean time, igno
that passed, continued in the temple, atter
sacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing
an empire now no longer his. Intelligenc
arrived, that a senator (who by name no
tell) was carried in triumph to the camp.
soon after announced. The people in cro
forward from every quarter, some repre
danger greater than it was, others lesseni
even in ruin, still retaining their habitual fl
council was called. After due deliberati
thought advisable to sound the dispositions
hort then on duty before the palace, but
interposition of Galba. His authority wa
served for the last extremity. Piso calle
together, and from the steps of the palace
them to the following purport: 'It is now,
soldiers, the sixth day since I was made h
presumptive heir to this great empire.
was called to a post of honor, or of danger
than I could then foresee. The offer was
and I accepted it; with what advantage
family in particular, or to the commonwe

it will be yours to determine. For myself, I have nothing to fear. Trained in the school of adversity, I now perceive that the smiles are no less dreadful than the frowns of fortune. But for myself I feel no concern: I feel for the situation of an aged father; I feel for the senate; I feel for my country. The lot of all three will be grievous, whether we fall this day by the hands of assassins, or, which to a generous mind is no less afflicting, find ourselves obliged to shed the blood of our fellow-citizens. In the late revolution, it was matter of joy to all good men that the city was not discolored with Roman blood, and that without civil discord the reins of government passed into other hands. To secure the same tranquillity was the object of the late adoption. By that measure Galba had reason to think that he closed the scene of war and civil commotion.

XXX. 'I will neither mention the nobility of my birth, nor claim the merit of moderation. I arrogate nothing to myself. In opposition to Otho there is no necessity to call our virtues to our aid. The vices of the man, even then, when he was the friend, or rather the pandar of Nero, were the ruin of his country. In those vices he places all his glory. And shall a life of debauchery, shall that effeminate air, and that soft solicitude for gay apparel, give an emperor to the Roman world? They who suffer profusion to pass for liberality will in time perceive their error. Otho may squander, but to bestow is not in his character. What think you are the objects that now engross his thoughts? What are his views? What does he aim at? Scenes of luxury, lawless gratifications, carousing festivals, and the embraces of lascivious women, are the imaginations of his heart. These with him are imperial *pleasures, the* rights of sovereignty. The joy

sent, have added me to the line of the C
after all, if the commonwealth, the sena
people, are no better than mere empty na
me ask you, my fellow-soldiers, will you
less crew to overturn the government?
worst and most abandoned of all manki
receive an emperor? The legions, it is
different times mutinied against their g
your fidelity has never been questioned.
cated; you did not desert him. He fell
treachery. And shall thirty ruffians—thir
their number is less—shall a wretched ha
conspirators, whom no man would suffer t
choice of a tribune or centurion, dispose o
empire at their will and pleasure? Will y
such a precedent? and by establishing
become accomplices in the guilt? The
pass into the provinces; confusion and an
the fatal consequence. Galba may fall,

f the cohort showed no sign of discontent. Without oise or tumult, the usual incidents of sedition, they isplayed their colors according to the military cus-om, and not, as was imagined afterwards, with a esign to cover by false appearances a settled plan of reachery and revolt. Celsus Marius was sent to use is influence with the forces from Illyricum, at that ime encamped under the portico of Vipsanius. Orders were likewise given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, two centurions of the first rank, to raw from the temple of Liberty the German soldiers uartered in that place. The legion draughted from he marines was not to be trusted. They had seen, n Galba's entry into Rome, a cruel massacre of their omrades; and the survivors, with minds exasperated, anted for revenge. At the same time Cetrius Se-erus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three nilitary tribunes, made the best of their way to the retorian camp, with an intention, while the ferment vas still recent, and before a general flame was indled, to mould the minds of men to a pacific tem-er. Subrius and Cetrius were repulsed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The soldiers took away his weapons, unwilling to listen to a man whom hey considered as an officer promoted out of his turn, y the favor of Galba, and for that reason faithful to is prince. The marine legion, without hesitation, oined the pretorian malecontents. The detachment rom the Illyrian army caught the infection, and bliged Celsus to retire under a shower of darts. The veterans from Germany remained for some time n suspense. They had been sent by Nero to Alex-ndria; but, being recalled in a short time after-ards, they returned to Rome in a distressed condi-*ion, worn out with toil*, and weakened by sickness

during their voyage. Galba attended to th and, in order to recruit their strength, ad seasonable relief. The soldiers felt the ge the prince, and gratitude was not yet effaced minds.

XXXII. The populace, in the mean tir crowd of slaves intermixed, rushed into t demanding vengeance on the head of Oth partisans. The clamor was loud and disso that of a rabble in the circus or amphitheat for the public sports, or some new spect whole was conducted without principle, witl ment, or sincerity; and before the close same mouths were open to bawl for the what they desired in the morning. To be r shouts and vociferation, let who will be the prince, has been in all ages the zeal of th Galba, in the mean time, balanced between site opinions. Titus Vinius was for his ren the palace. 'The slaves,' he said, 'might l and all the avenues secured. The prince no means expose himself to a frantic mob. should be allowed for the seditious to reper good men to form a plan of union, and con measures. Crimes succeeded by hurry an dispatch: honest counsels gain vigor by dela it be hereafter proper to sally forth, that would be still in reserve; but if once haz error would be seen too late. The prin case would be in the power of his enemies.'

XXXIII. It was argued on the other ha the exigence called for vigorous measures the conspiracy of a few traitors gained an ac *strength* one brave exertion might prove *Confront* the danger, and Otho will shrink

terror and dismay. It is not long since he went forth by stealth. He has been joined by a few incendiaries, and hurried away to a camp, where no plan is settled; but now, while Galba's friends remain inactive, he assumes the sovereignty, and has time to learn how to play his part. And shall we linger here in cold debate, till the usurper, having mastered the camp, comes forth to invade the forum, and under the eye of a lawful prince ascends the capitol? In the mean time, must our valiant emperor remain trembling in his palace, while his warlike friends barricade the doors, preparing with heroic resolution to stand a siege? But it seems the slaves are to be armed; and they no doubt will render effectual service, especially if we neglect the people now ready to support our cause, and suffer their indignation to evaporate without striking a blow. What is dishonorable is always dangerous. If we must fall, let us bravely meet our fate. Mankind will applaud our valor, and Otho, the author of our ruin, will be the object of public detestation.' Vinius maintained his former opinion. Laco opposed him with warmth, and even with violent menaces. In this Icelus was the secret prompter. That favorite hated the consul, and, in a moment big with danger, chose to gratify a little and narrow spirit at the expense of the emperor and the public.

XXXIV. Galba adopted what appeared to him the most specious and most prudent advice. Piso notwithstanding was sent forward to the camp. The presence of a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the first honors of the state, might give a turn to the passions of the army. He was besides considered as the enemy of Vinius. If, in fact, he did not *hate him, the* enemies of the minister wished *it; and malice, imputed* to the mind of man, is easily

believed to be a natural passion. Piso was hardly gone forth when a rumor prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp. The report at first was vague and uncertain, but like all important lies, gathered as it went, and grew into credit. It was confirmed by men who averred that they were eye-witnesses on the spot, and saw the blow given. The tale was welcome to a great many, and the credulous swallowed it without farther inquiry. It was afterwards thought to be a political lie, framed by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd in order to entice Galba from his palace.

XXXV. The city resounded with acclamations. Not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were transported beyond all bounds, but the knights and senators were hurried away with the torrent: they forgot their fears; they rushed to the emperor's presence; they complained that the punishment of treason was taken out of their hands. The men who, as it appeared soon after, were the most likely to shrink from danger, displayed their zeal with ostentation; lavish of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was slain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this situation, wanting certain intelligence, but deceived by his courtiers, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armor. The weight was too much for his feeble frame; and in the throng that gathered round him, finding himself overpowered, he desired to be placed in a litter. Before he left the palace Julius Atticus, a soldier of the body-guard, accosted him with a bloody sword in hand, crying aloud, 'In me you see the slayer of Otho: it was I that killed him.' Galba calmly answered,[1] 'Who gave you orders?' Such was the spirit

1 Suetonius says Galba put on his breastplate, observing,

f the man even in the last extremity, still determined
› repress the licentiousness of the soldiers; by their
ısolence undismayed, by their flattery never softened.

XXXVI. Meanwhile, the pretorian guards threw
ff the mask, and with one voice declared for Otho.
'hey ranged themselves in a body round his person,
nd in the ardor of their zeal placed him amidst the
tandards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a
ittle before, stood the golden statue of Galba.[1] The
ribunes and centurions were not suffered to approach.
'he common soldiers having no kind of confidence in
heir officers, gave the word to watch the motions of
ll in any rank or command. The camp resounded with
houts and mutual exhortations, not with that faint-
ıearted zeal which draws from the mob of Rome their
eeble acclamations, but with one mind, one general
mpulse, all concurred in support of their new em-
›eror. The pretorians were almost frantic with joy:
hey embraced their comrades as they saw them ad-
rancing forward; they clasped their hands; they led
hem to the tribunal; they repeated the military oath,
nd administered it to all. They recommended the
›rince of their own choice to the affections of the men,
nd the men, in their turn, to the favor of the prince.
Otho, on his part, omitted nothing that could con-
iliate the affections of the multitude. He paid his
›ourt to the rabble with his hands outstretched, bow-
ng lowly down, and in order to be emperor, crouching
ike a slave. The marine legion did not hesitate to

t the same time, that it would be a poor defence against so
nany swords; Life of Galba, § 19. Plutarch relates that the
oldier, being asked by Galba who gave him orders, had
the spirit to answer, 'My oath and my duty.'

1 In every Roman camp the statue of the emperor was
placed in the tribunal, at the head-quarters of the general;
See Annals, xv. 29.

take the oath of fidelity. By that event Otho felt himself inspired with uncommon ardor. Having hitherto tampered with the soldiers man by man, he judged right to address them in a body. He took his station on the rampart of the camp, and spoke to the following effect:

XXXVII. 'In what light, my fellow-soldiers, shall I now consider myself? In what character must I address you? A private man I cannot call myself, for you have bestowed on me the title of prince: but can I assume that title while another is still in possession of the sovereign power? In what description you yourselves are to be classed is to me matter of doubt; and must remain so till the question is decided, whether you have in your camp the emperor of Rome or a public enemy? You have heard the cry that has gone forth: the same voice that demands vengeance on me calls aloud for your destruction. With my life your fate is interwoven. We must live or perish together. There is no alternative. The humanity of Galba is well known to us all. Perhaps even while I speak he has pronounced our doom. To yield to the advice of his friends will be an easy task to him, who without a request, of his own free-will, in cold blood, could give to the edge of the sword so many thousand innocent soldiers, all destroyed in one inhuman massacre. My heart recoils with horror when I reflect on the disastrous day when he made his public entry into the city. After receiving the submission of the soldiers, with unheard-of treachery he ordered the whole body to be decimated; and in the view of the people exhibited a scene of blood and horror. These are the exploits of Galba, and this his only victory. *With* these inauspicious omens he entered the city of *Rome*; and what has been since the glory of his reign!

Obultronius Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in Spain; Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in Germany; and Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to these Cingonius Varro, butchered on his march, Turpilianus in the heart of the city, and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there in any part of the empire a single camp which he has not defiled with blood? This he will tell you is a reform of the army. In his language, murder is a legal remedy: what all good men agree to call a deed of barbarity passes with him for a correction of abuses. Under specious names he confounds the nature of things: cruelty is justice, avarice is economy, and massacre is military discipline. Since the death of Nero not more than seven months have elapsed; and in that time Icelus his freedman has amassed by plunder more enormous wealth than the Polycleti, the Vatinii, the Elii, and the Haloti were able to do in the whole course of that emperor's reign. Even Titus Vinius, if he himself had seized the empire, would have had the grace to blush at such enormities; nor should we have groaned under such a load of oppression. Though no higher than a private citizen, he plunders without remorse: he seizes our property, as if we were his slaves; and he despises us as the servants of another master. His house alone contains wealth sufficient to discharge the donative every day promised, but promised merely to insult you.

XXXVIII. 'That your hopes of better times may never succeed, Galba has taken care, by his choice of a successor, to entail on you endless misery. He has adopted a man from whom you can have nothing to expect; a man recalled from banishment, in his temper dark and gloomy, hardened in avarice, the counterpart *of the emperor himself.* You remember, my fellow-

must prove abortive. It is not to a war,
danger, that I am now to conduct you: th
Rome are on our side. The single cohor
with Galba is composed of citizens, not
they are gowned, not armed: they do not
in his defence: they detain him as thei
When they see you advancing in firm arra
my signal is given, the only struggle will b
espouse my cause with the greatest ardor
forbids all dull delay: we have undertak
but it is the issue that must justify the m
crown us with applause.' Having closed hi
he ordered the magazine of arms to be th
The soldiers seized their weapons: they pai
to military rules; no distinction was obs
pretorians, the legions, and the auxiliarie
together, and shields and helmets were sna
a tumultuous manner. No tribune, no ce
allowed to give orders. Each man was hi
manding officer. While the friends of disc

n his way to the forum. Marius Celsus had already rought alarming tidings. Some advised the emperor) return to his palace; others were for taking possession of the capitol, and the major part for proceeding directly to the tribunal of public harangues: numers gave their advice, for no better reason than to lash with the opinions of others; and, in the disraction of jarring counsels, the misfortune was, that vhat ought to have occurred first, was seen too late. They decided when the opportunity was lost. We are old that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a lesign against the life of Vinius. The murder of that ninister, he thought, would appease the fury of the oldiers, or it may be that he suspected treachery, and thought him joined in a secret league with Otho; perhaps his own malice was the motive. But for this dark purpose neither the time nor the place was convenient: the sword once drawn, there was no knowing where the scene of blood would end. Messengers arriving every moment increased the consternation: the spirit of Galba's friends began to droop: numbers deserted him; and of all that zeal which a little before blazed out with so much ardor, every spark was now extinguished.

XL. Galba, in the midst of a prodigious conflux of people, had not strength to support himself; and, as the waving multitude was impelled different ways, he was hurried on by the torrent. The temples, the porticos, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of gazing spectators. The whole presented an awful spectacle. A deep and sullen silence prevailed. The very rabble was hushed. Amazement sat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every sound. The interval was big with *error: it was neither* a tumult nor a settled calm; but

rather the stillness of fear, or smothered ra
often precedes some dreadful calamity. Ot
in the camp. He received intelligence that
lace had recourse to arms, and thereon c
troops to push forward with rapidity, and
impending danger. At his command the
diers, as if marching to dethrone an easter
a Vologeses, or a Pacorus, and not their
sovereign, advanced with impetuous fury
their hands in the blood of an old man, nak
armed. They entered the city: they dis
common people: they spurred their hor
speed, and rushing into the forum sword
trampled the senators under foot. The s
capitol made no impression: the temples s
the religion of ages could not restrain thei
the majesty of former princes they had no r
of those who were to succeed, no kind of dr
rushed forward to commit a detestable par
getting, in their frantic rage, that crimes of
cious nature are sure to be punished by the
succeeds to the sovereign power.

XLI. The pretorians no sooner appeare
than the standard-bearer of the cohort still
with Galba (his name we are told was At
gilio) tore from the colors the image of
dashed it on the ground. That signal give
diers, with one voice, declared for Otho. T
fled in consternation. Such as lingered b
attacked sword in hand. The men who car
in a litter were struck with terror. In t
they let him fall to the ground near the Cur

1 *This* was in the forum, near the rostra. It
served in a former note that the pulpit of h

s last words, according as men admired or hated
n, have been variously reported. According to
ne, he asked, in a suppliant tone, what harm he
d done? and prayed for a few days that he might
charge the donative due to the soldiers. Others
ure us that he presented his neck to the assassin's
oke, and said with a firm tone of voice, 'Strike, if
good of the commonwealth requires it.' To ruffians
rsting for blood, no matter what he said. By what
nd the blow was given cannot now be known. Some
pute it to Terentius, a resumed veteran; others to
ellow of the name of Lecanius. A report still more
neral has transmitted down to us the name of Ca-
rius, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion. This
n, it is said, cut Galba's throat. The rest fell on
th brutal rage, and finding his breast covered with
mor, dissevered his legs and arms. Nor did the
rbarians desist till the emperor lay a headless
nk, deformed with wounds, and weltering in his
od.

XLII. Titus Vinius was the next victim. The man-
r in which he met his fate is likewise left uncertain.
hether on the first assault his utterance was sup-
essed by fear, or whether he had power to call out
at Otho had given no orders against his life, we have
w no means of knowing. Those words, if really
oken, might be an effort of pusillanimity to save his
e, or they were the confession of a man who was
tually an accomplice in the conspiracy. His life
d manners leave no room to doubt but he was capa-
e of joining in a parricide, of which his own ad-
nistration[1] was the principal cause. He fell by a

orned with the beaks of ships, and thence called *rostra*.
r Galba's death and funeral, see Suet. in Galba, § 20.
[1] *Galba labored under* the weight of crimes committed by

guard that escorted Piso, he no sooner saw a
armed assassins than he advanced to oppose th
brandishing his poniard, and exclaiming ag
horrible deed. With his voice, with his ha
every effort in the power of man, he made a t
sistance, and gave Piso, wounded as he was, a
tunity of making his escape. Piso reached th
of Vesta, where a slave of the state, touched w
passion, conducted him to his own private ap
Piso lay concealed for some time, not indebt
sanctity of the temple, nor to the rites of reli
sheltered by the obscurity of the place. A
Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a British
and had been made by Galba a citizen of R
Statius Murcus, a pretorian soldier, arrived
of him by Otho's special order. By these
Piso was dragged to the vestibule of the templ
under repeated blows, he breathed his last.

XLIV. In the midst of a general massacre,

ıe gazed with such ardent eyes. By this event he felt ıimself relieved from all apprehensions. The fate of Galba and of Titus Vinius affected him in a different nanner. The former brought to his mind an idea of majesty fallen from a state of elevation; and the death of the latter awakened the memory of an early friendship, and even into a heart like his, fierce, cruel, and ambitious, infused a tincture of melancholy. When Piso fell an enemy expired. Feeling for him neither regret nor compunction, he gave a loose to joy. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried, amidst the ensigns of the cohorts, with the eagle of the legion, through the streets of Rome. A band of soldiers followed, stretching forth their hands reeking with blood, and boasting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were present aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falsehood, claiming the honor of an atrocious deed. No less than one hundred and twenty memorials, presented on this occasion by persons who claimed the reward of crimes committed on that dreadful day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the several authors, after diligent search made by his orders, were punished with death, not from motives of regard for the memory of Galba, but with the usual policy of princes, who think, by punishing the malefactors of a former reign, that they establish a precedent, and by the terrors of future vengeance effectually secure themselves.

XLV. Another senate and another people seemed now to be in possession of Rome. All pressed forward to the camp. You would have thought it a race of servility, in which every man endeavored to outstrip his fellow-citizens, and be the first to pay his court. They joined *in reviling* the name of Galba, and all ap-

plauded the conduct of the soldiers. They thronged round Otho, fawning to kiss his hand, and in proportion to their want of sincerity, playing the farce with overacted zeal. Otho was not deficient in the mummery of thanks and gratitude. Attentive to all, and gracious to individuals, he took care at the same time, by his looks and actions, to restrain the soldiers, who, by the ferocity of their looks, seemed to threaten farther mischief. Marius Celsus, the consul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and in the last extremity continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to a lawless crew, with whom every virtue was a crime. They demanded his immediate execution. But their views were too apparent. The best and ablest men in Rome were doomed to destruction by a set of men who panted to let loose their rage, and lay a scene of blood, of plunder, and devastation. Otho was not yet in fulness of power. His authority was sufficient to command the perpetration of crimes; to prohibit them was still beyond him. The part he assumed was that of a man enraged and bent on some atrocious deed. In that pretended fury he ordered Celsus to be loaded with irons, as a man reserved for heavier punishment, and by that stratagem saved him from destruction.

XLVI. The pretorians from this time knew no control. They chose their own prefects; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common soldier, raised afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partisan in favor of Otho. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who lived in intimacy with Otho, and was supposed to be an accomplice in all his dark designs. For the office of governor of

ome they named Flavius Sabinus,[1] influenced in their
ıoice by their respect for the memory of Nero, who
ıd committed to him the same important charge.
he majority had another motive: by concurring in
ıis nomination, they meant to pay a compliment to
espasian, the brother of Sabinus. Their next object
as to abolish the fees exacted by the centurions for
:casional exemptions from duty, and for leave of ab-
ınce. These fees in fact were an annual tribute out
f the pockets of the common men. In consequence of
ıis abuse a fourth part of every company was seen
ımbling about the country, or idly loitering in the
ery camp. The centurion received his perquisite,
nd had no other care. Nor was the soldier solicitous
bout the price: he purchased a right to be idle, and
he means by which he enabled himself to defray the
xpense gave him no kind of scruple. By theft, by
obbery, and by servile employments, he gained enough
o enrich his officer; and the officer, in return, sold a
lispensation from labor and the duties of the service.
Whoever had hoarded up a little money was, for that
eason, harassed with discipline and oppressed with
abor, till he purchased the usual indulgence. By these
ıxtortions the soldier was impoverished, his stock was
ıxhausted; and after a vagabond life, his industry re-
axed, and his vigor wasted, he returned to the camp
vithout courage, strength, or money. By these per-
ıicious practices corruption grew into a system. The
ommon men forgot all discipline; their morals went
o ruin; and, in the natural progress of vice, all be-
ame ripe for tumult, insurrections, and civil war. To
emedy the mischief, and at the same time not to

1 Flavius Sabinus had been appointed prefect of the city by Nero. The *soldiers loved* the vices of the former reign, *and for that reason continued* Sabinus in the same office.

alienate the minds of the centurions, Oth
to pay an annual equivalent to the office
own revenue. This reform was no doubt l
just. Good princes adopted it afterwar
now a settled rule in the military system
late commander of the pretorians, was c
an island, there, as was given out, to pass t
of his days; but a veteran soldier, who
despatched for the purpose, put an end
Martianus Icelus, being of no higher ra
of a manumitted slave, died by the hand
cutioner.

XLVII. After the horrors of a day sp
and blood, and carnage, if any thing cou
public misery, it was the joy that succe
dismal scene. The pretor of the city
meeting of the senate. The other magis
to distinguish themselves by the vilest adu
fathers assembled without delay. The
power, the name of Augustus, and all imp
enjoyed by former princes, were by a de
to Otho. Several members of that as
conscious of having thrown odious colors
and character of their new emperor, and
piate, by present flattery, the bitterness o
vectives. Whether Otho despised those
flections, or stored them in his memory for
sions, is uncertain. The shortness of his
that matter undecided. He was conveye
to the capitol, and thence to the imperial
his way he saw the forum discolored wit
heaps of slaughtered citizens lying roun
granted leave to remove the dead bodies,
rm the rites of sepulture. The rem
re buried by his wife Verania and Se

brother. The last duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Crispina. Their heads, which the murderers had reserved for sale, were found, and redeemed at a stipulated price.

XLVIII. Piso had well-nigh completed the thirty-first year of his age; always high in the esteem of the public, yet never happy. Two of his brothers suffered a violent death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Crassus, by the cruelty of Nero. He himself had passed a considerable part of his time in banishment; an outlaw for some years, and four days a prince. By the adoption of Galba he was raised above his elder brother; but by that preference all he gained was to be murdered first.

Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-seven; a man of unsettled principle and various manners. His father was of a pretorian family; his grandfather by the maternal line was in the number proscribed by the triumvirate. His first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus,[1] began with disgrace. The wife of his commanding officer, prompted by wanton curiosity, went by night, in the disguise of a common soldier, to view the site and disposition of the camp. In her frolic she went round to visit the sentinels, and the posts and stations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were deposited, she did not scruple to commit the act of adultery on that sacred spot.

1 Calvisius Sabinus, mentioned in this place, was probably the person who in Caligula's reign commanded in Pannonia, and on his return to Rome was compelled to end his days, A. U. C. 792. His wife Cornelia, whom we find abandoned to her passions, almost redeemed her character in the last act of her life. She perished with her husband. Seneca talks of a person of the name of Calvisius Sabinus, who he says did not know how to enjoy his success in the world with moderation; *but whether* that was the Sabinus of Tacitus is *uncertain.*

Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and by order of Caligula loaded with irons. By the revolution which soon after happened he regained his liberty, and from that time rose to honors. He discharged the office of pretor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name however was soon after branded with a crime which a common slave would have blushed to commit. Being a guest at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day that emperor, to distinguish Vinius from the rest of his company, gave orders that he should be trusted with nothing better than a cup of earthenware. Notwithstanding this disgrace he became proconsul of Narbon Gaul, and acquitted himself in his administration with distinguished firmness and equal integrity. The friendship of Galba placed him on the brink of a precipice. Bold and prompt in action, of an enterprising genius and undaunted courage, he was at the same time dark, subtle, and deceitful. Qualified to succeed in whatever he undertook, and by nature ready for good or evil deeds, he practised vice and virtue with alternate success and equal ardor. His last will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piso was confirmed by his poverty.

XLIX. Galba's body during the night that followed the murder lay exposed to numberless indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, an ancient slave and steward of that unfortunate emperor, to the private gardens of his master, and there deposited in an humble manner, without honor or distinction. His head, in a mangled condition, was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, and set up to public view near the tomb of Patrobius, a slave manumitted by Nero, and by order of Galba put to death. In that situation

it was found on the following day, and added to the ashes of the body, which had been already committed to the flames. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had seen the reign of five princes, and enjoyed during that whole period a series of prosperity; happy as a private citizen, as a prince unfortunate. He was descended from a long line of ancestors. His wealth was great: his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice, he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vainglorious. Having no rapacity, he was an economist of his own, and of the public treasure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen he was open, generous, and even resigned to their will. When his choice was happily made, his indulgence, however excessive, was at worst an amiable weakness; when bad men surrounded him, his good-nature bordered on folly. The splendor of his rank, and the felicity with which he steered through the dangers of a black and evil period, helped to raise the value of his character: his indolence passed for wisdom, and inactivity took the name of prudence. In the vigor of his days he served with honor in Germany: as proconsul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and the Nethermost Spain, when he was advanced in years, felt the mildness of his administration. While no higher than a private citizen, his merit was thought superior to his rank; and the suffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire had he never made the experiment.

L. In this disastrous juncture, while Rome was shuddering with horror at the late dreadful carnage, and from the well-known vices of Otho's nature men *were in dread of worse* evils still to come, dispatches

from Germany brought an account of a r
ready to burst in that quarter. The revol
lius and the armies under his command was
a secret. The intelligence arrived before th
Galba, but was suppressed by that empero
sedition on the Upper Rhine might be thougl
mischief that disturbed the tranquillity of t
At length the true state of affairs was kno
general panic spread through the city. Nc
senators and Roman knights, who had still so
of authority, but the meaner populace, mo
the distractions of their country. All were
see two men of the most pernicious charac
vated by luxury, and abandoned to every vi
by some fatality to be the bane and ruin of
monwealth. The crimes and miseries, wh
the late emperors were one continued pestil
no longer the objects that employed the pu
The civil wars were fresh in the memory of
talked of Rome besieged and taken by her o
they remembered Italy laid waste, the provi
dered, the battles of Pharsalia and Philipp
siege of Modena and Perusia, two places w
in history, and each of them the scene of
lamity.

'In those tempestuous times the strugg
observed, lay between men of illustrious
and by their contentions the state was brou
brink of ruin. But even then, under Juli
the empire still survived and florished. I
under Augustus, and gained additional lustr
Pompey and Brutus, had their arms prev
republic would have been once more establi
those men have passed away. Otho and Vi
[redacted]w the competitors: and for them, or eith

shall the people crowd to the temples? must they pray for a tyrant to reign over them? Vows, in such a cause, were impious, since, in a war between two detestable rivals, he who conquers will be armed with power to commit still greater armies, and prove himself the worst.' Such were the reasonings of the people. Some who saw at a distance, fixed their eyes on Vespasian, and the crimes in the east. They foresaw new commotions in that part of the world, and dreaded the calamities of another war. Vespasian, they agreed, was in every respect superior to the two chiefs who now convulsed the state; but even his character was rather problematical. The truth is, of all the princes who to his time reigned at Rome, he was the only one whom power reformed and made a better man.

LI. That the revolt under Vitellius may be seen in its true light, it will be necessary to state the causes that produced it. I therefore go back to the origin of that event. After the defeat of Julius Vindex, and the total rout of his armies, the victorious legions, enriched with booty, grew wanton with success. To men, who without fatigue or danger had closed a lucrative war, the love of enterprise became a natural passion. They preferred hostilities to a state of inaction, and plunder to the soldier's pay. They had, till the late commotions called them forth, endured the hardships of a rigorous service, in a bleak climate and a desolate country, where, even in time of peace, discipline was enforced with strict severity. But discipline, they knew, would be relaxed by civil discord. In the distractions of parties, both sides encourage licentiousness, and by consequence fraud, corruption, and treachery, triumph with impunity. The mutinous soldiers were abundantly provided with arms and horses, both for parade and service. Before the late

war in Gaul they saw no more than the co
the troop of horse, to which they belonged.
at different quarters, they never went bey
limits, and the boundaries of the province
armies distinct and separate. Being at len
together to make head against Vindex, the
own strength; and having tasted the sweets
they wanted to renew the troubles by w
rapacity had been so amply gratified. They
treated the Gauls as their allies and frie
considered them as enemies, and a vanquish

In these hostile sentiments they were co
such of the Gallic nation as dwelt on the
the Rhine. The people on that side of th
had taken up arms against Vindex and
whom, since the death of that chief, they ch
the Galbian faction; and now, by every a
infusions of their own malice, they ende
kindle a war between the Romans and thei
men. The animosity of the legions was
cited. The Sequanians, the Æduans, and ot
according to their opulence, were the chief
resentment. The soldiers thought of nothing
assaulted and carried by storm, the plunder
and the desolation of the country. In th
imagination every man anticipated the boot
to fall to his share. To their arrogance an
the never-failing vices of the strongest, th
the indignation of men who felt themselve
by the vainglory with which the Æduans ar
of the obnoxious states made it their boast t
spite of the legions, they had extorted fro
remission of one fourth of their tribute, and
sion of their territory. To these incentives
a report, artfully thrown out and readily be

the legions were to be decimated, and the best and bravest of the centurions to be dismissed from the service. To increase the ferment, tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and in particular, a storm was said to be gathering over the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, still faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, took care to disseminate the worst reports. From that place, as from the centre of intelligence, rumors constantly issued: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day, and credulity stood ready to receive it. The passions of the soldiers were in constant agitation; malice embittered their minds, and fear held them in suspense. But they viewed their numbers, and their courage revived. They found themselves in force, and in full security laughed at the idea of danger.

LII. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year when Aulus Vitellius first appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his business to review the legions in their winter-quarters: he restored several officers who had been degraded, and relieved others from the disgrace of an ignominious sentence. In these proceedings he acted, in some instances, with justice, in others with a view to his own ambition. He condemned the sordid avarice with which Fonteius Capito granted or refused rank in the army. He established a fair and regular system of military promotion, and in the eyes of the soldiers appeared to exceed the powers usually vested in consular generals. He seemed to be an officer of superior weight and grandeur. Reflecting men saw the baseness of his motives, while his creatures extolled every part of his conduct. The profusion which, without judgment *or economy, lavished* away in bounties all his own

property, and squandered that of others, was by sycophants called benevolence and generosity. E the vices that sprung from lust of dominion were his creatures transformed into so many virtues.

In the two armies on the Upper and Lower R there were no doubt men well disposed, and of a conduct; but at the same time both camps were fested by a set of desperate incendiaries. At the l of the factious and the turbulent stood Alienus Ca and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a le both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a d spirit, ready for any desperate enterprise. Valens served the interest of Galba, by detecting Verg as soon as the conduct of that officer seemed t equivocal: he had also crushed the machinatio Capito, and for those services thought himself ill quited. Stung with resentment, he now endeavor rouse the ambition of Vitellius. 'The soldiers, said, 'were zealous in his service, and the nam Vitellius stood in high esteem throughout the Ro world. From Hordeonius Flaccus no opposition to be apprehended. Britain was ready to de against Galba, and the German auxiliaries would low their example. The provinces wavered in duty, and by consequence the precarious authori a feeble old man would be soon transferred to hands. Fortune courted Vitellius: he had nothi do but to open his arms and receive her favors. ginius, indeed, had every thing to chill his hopes damp his resolution. He had no splendid line o cestors to recommend him. He was of an eques family; but his father lived and died in obscurity man of his cast would have proved unequal t *weight* of empire. A private station was to him a *of* safety. The case of Vitellius was very dif

Sprung from a father who had been three times consul, once in conjunction with the emperor Claudius, and who, moreover, had discharged the office of censor, he might well aspire to the highest elevation. The honors of his family marked him out for the imperial dignity. Too great for a private station, he must reach the summit of power, or be utterly lost.' Notwithstanding this inflammatory speech, the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was not to be roused. A few faint wishes fluttered at his heart, but hope could find no admission.

LIII. Meanwhile Cæcina, who served in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himself the affections of the army. Young, and of a comely figure, tall and well proportioned, with an air of dignity in his deportment, a flow of eloquence, and an aspiring genius, he had all the qualities that make an impression on the military mind. Though a young man, he discharged the office of questor in the province of Bætica in Spain, and was among the first that went over to Galba's interest. The emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding afterwards that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a strict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to submit with patience. He resolved to embroil the state, and in the general confusion hoped to find a remedy for his own private afflictions. The seed-plots of rebellion were already laid in the army. In the war against Vindex they had taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favor of Galba. Even in that act of submission they showed no forward zeal, but suffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. There was still another circumstance that *helped to sharpen* their discontent. The Treveri, the

Lingones, and other states, which had felt the severit of Galba's edicts, or had seen their territory reduce to narrow limits, lay contiguous to the winter-quarte of the legions. Hence frequent intercourse, cabal and seditious meetings, in which the soldiers gre more corrupt, envenomed as they were by the politi of discontented peasants. Hence their zeal to pr mote the interest of Verginius, and when that proje failed, their readiness to enlist under any other chie

LIV. The Lingones, in token of friendship, h sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to the ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right han clasping one another. Their deputies appeared wi the mien and garb of affliction. They went round t camp, and in every quarter disburdened their co plaints. In the tents, and in the place for the sta dards and eagles, they painted forth their own pr vate injuries, while other states enjoyed the favor a the protection of Galba. Finding that they made i impression, they represented to the soldiers the dange that hung over their own heads, and the hardshi under which they labored. The Romans caught t infection. A general frensy spread through the cam the flame of sedition was ready to break out, a some dreadful mischief seemed to be impending, wh Hordeonius Flaccus, in the dead of night, ordered t deputies to depart without farther delay. A repo soon prevailed that they were all treacherously mu dered; and that, if the soldiers did not instantly pr vide for their own safety, the best and bravest of t army would be cruelly butchered, under covert of t night, far from their comrades, and without the knov *lege* of their friends. A secret combination was in *mediately* formed. The soldiers joined in a bond *union*. The auxiliary cohorts, at first suspected w

design to rise against the legions, and put the whole body to the sword, entered into the league with eager ardor. Such is the nature of profligate and abandoned minds; in peace and profound tranquillity they seldom agree; but for seditious purposes a coalition is easily formed.

LV. The legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the usual form of swearing fidelity to Galba; but the form only was observed. No man was seen to act with alacrity. In the foremost ranks a feeble sound was heard; the words of the oath were repeated with an unwilling murmur, while the rest remained in sullen silence; each man, as usual in dangerous enterprises, expecting the bold example of his comrades, ready to second the insurrection, yet not daring to begin it. A leaven of discordant humors pervaded the whole mass of the army. The first and fifth legion were the most outrageous: some of them pelted the images of Galba with a volley of stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth abstained from acts of violence, but were loud and clamorous: they bawled sedition, but waited for ring-leaders to begin the fray.

In the Upper Germany the tumult was still more violent. On the same calends of January the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter camp, dashed the images of Galba into fragments. In this outrage the fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for some time, followed their example. Unwilling however to incur the imputation of a rebellion against their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of the senate and Roman people, and in that republican form took the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, *nor even so much as* a tribune, appeared in favor of

Galba: on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in cases of public confusion, not only connived, but helped to increase the tumult. The mutineers were still without a leader. No man took on him to harangue the multitude; no orator ascended the tribunal; nor could the incendiaries tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

LVI. Hordeonius Flaccus beheld this scene of confusion; and, though a consular commander, never once interposed with his authority to restrain the violent, to secure the wavering, or to animate the well-affected. He looked on, a calm spectator, tame and passive; it may be added, innocent, but innocent through sluggish indolence. Four centurions of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba. The soldiers attacked them with impetuous violence, and all four were loaded with fetters. From that moment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer binding. It happened in this as in all seditions; one set appeared to be most numerous, the rest followed the leaders, and the whole herd was of one party. In the course of the night that followed the calends of January the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony, where Vitellius was engaged at a banquet, with intelligence that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having destroyed the images of Galba, took a new form of oath to the senate and Roman people. As that government existed no longer, the oath was deemed a nullity. In this crisis it was judged proper to seize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Dispatches were accordingly sent to in-

form the army in the Lower Germany that the soldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that by consequence it remained for them either to march against the rebels, or, for the sake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In choosing for themselves they would hazard little; but indecision might be dangerous.

LVII. The winter-quarters of the first legion were nearest to the residence of Vitellius. Fabius Valens was the commanding officer; a prompt and daring leader of sedition. On the following day he put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and with a party of the auxiliaries proceeded by a rapid march to the Agrippinian colony. He no sooner entered the city than he saluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with zeal and ardor, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius, losing all memory of the senate and the Roman people. Those specious words, which a few days before resounded with so much energy, were dropped at once; and the men, it now was plain, were never in their hearts the soldiers of a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lingones, were determined not to be behindhand in demonstrations of zeal. They offered a supply of arms and horses, of men and money, in proportion to their respective abilities. The strong and valiant were willing to serve in person: the rich opened their treasure; and the skilful gave their advice. The leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themselves by the spoils of war, wished for another victory that might bring with it an accumulation of wealth. The zeal with which they *entered into the league* was what might be expected;

but the alacrity of the common men was beheld with wonder. Poor and destitute, they made a tender of their travelling subsistence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the silver ornaments of their armor; all excited by one general impulse, a sudden fit of blind enthusiasm. In their motives there was no doubt a mingle of avarice; and plunder, they hoped, would be the reward of valor.

LVIII. Vitellius, after bestowing the highest praise on the spirit with which the soldiers embraced his cause, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public business. He transferred the offices hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemptions from duty were for the future to be defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the soldiers, demanding vengeance on particular persons, was not to be repressed. He yielded in some instances, and in others eluded their resentment under color of reserving the obnoxious for heavier punishment. Pompeius Propinquus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, was put to death on the spot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, was saved by an artful stratagem. The army considered that officer as the accuser first, and afterwards as the murderer of Fonteius Capito, whose memory was still held in respect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius: he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in prison till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeased the wrath of the soldiers. He then was set at liberty. In the mean time Centurio Crispinus, who with his *own* hand had shed the blood of Capito, suffered as a *victim* to expiate that atrocious deed. His guilt was *manifest*: the soldiers demanded his blood, and Vi-

tellius thought a man of that description no kind of loss.

LIX. Julius Civilis was the next whom the army doomed to destruction; but being of high rank and consequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people saved his life. There were at that time in the territory of the Lingones no less than eight Batavian cohorts, annexed as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times; a body of men in that juncture of the greatest moment. It was in their power to turn the scale in favor of whatever party they espoused. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were by order of Vitellius hurried to execution. They had remained steady in their duty to their prince; and fidelity is a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Asiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom in a short time after Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage, and Junius Blæsus, who presided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion, and the body of horse called the Taurinian cavalry, went over to the party of the new emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in suspense; and the legions in Britain declared without hesitation in favor of Vitellius.

LX. Britain was at that time governed by Trebellius Maximus; a man, for his avarice and sordid practices, despised and hated by the army. Between him and Roscius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long-subsisting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, and embittered by the distractions of a civil war. Cælius was charged by his superior officer with being the fomenter of sedition, and an enemy to discipline and good order: in

return he recriminated; alleging that the commander-in-chief plundered the legions, and left the soldiers to languish in distress and poverty. From this dissension between their officers the common men caught the infection. All discipline was at an end. Licentiousness prevailed; and the tumult rose at length to such a height that Trebellius, insulted openly by the auxiliaries, deserted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, was obliged to fly for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithstanding the flight of a consular governor, remained in a perfect state of tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commissions equal in authority, but eclipsed by the enterprising genius and the daring spirit of Cælius.

LXI. The arrival of the forces from Britain was an accession of strength; and thereon Vitellius, flushed with hope, abounding in resources, and strong in numbers, resolved to carry the war into Italy by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was sent forward, with instructions to draw to his interest the people of Gaul; and, if he found them obstinate, to lay waste their country with fire and sword. He was afterwards to pass over the Cottian Alps, and make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his descent on that side. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty thousand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no less than *thirty* thousand, of which the one-and-twentieth legion was the main strength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. Vitellius fol-

them with a third army, to crush whatever re-
and bring up the whole weight of the war.
I. The new emperor and his army presented a
g contrast: the soldiers burned with impatience,
ith one voice demanded to be led against the
. 'It was time,' they said, 'to push on the
th vigor, while the two Gauls are in commotion,
ain is yet undecided. The winter season is far
being an obstacle: nor were the men to be
l with idle negotiations to bring on a compro-
Italy, in all events, must be invaded, and Rome
by storm. In civil dissensions it is expedition
ives life and energy to all military operations.
isis called for vigor, and debate was out of sea-
Vitellius, in the mean time, loitered away his
l dull repose; lifeless, torpid, drunk at noon-
nd overwhelmed with gluttony. The imperial
, he thought, consisted in riot and profusion;
resolved to enjoy the prerogative of a prince.
irit of the soldiers supplied the defects of their
They neither wanted him in the ranks to ani-
he brave, nor to rouse the tardy and inactive.
man was his own general. With one consent
rmed the ranks, and demanded the signal for
rch. They saluted Vitellius by the name of
nicus; that of Cæsar he chose to decline, and
fter his victory always rejected it. Valens
his march. On that very day his army beheld
l omen. An eagle appeared at the head of the
measuring his flight by the movement of the
s, as if to guide them on their way. The air
ded with shouts of joy, while the bird pro-
in the same regular course, undismayed by the
, and still *seeming* to direct their march. A

phenomenon so unusual was considered as a sure prognostic of a signal victory.

LXIII. The army advanced in good order towards the state of the Treveri, whom they considered as their friends and allies. At Divodurum (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindness, but were seized unaccountably with a sudden panic, in its effect so extraordinary, that the soldiers grasped their arms, and fell on the innocent inhabitants sword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no share; a sudden frensy possessed every mind; and, as the cause was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No less than four thousand men were massacred; and, if the intreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood. The rest of Gaul was alarmed by this horrible catastrophe to such a degree that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magistrates at their head, went forth in a suppliant manner to sue for mercy. Mothers with their children lay prostrate on the ground, as if a conquering enemy advanced against them; and though nothing like hostility subsisted, the wretched people were obliged in profound peace to deprecate all the horrors of war.

LXIV. Valens arrived with his army at the capital city of the Leucians. At that place he received intelligence of the murder of Galba and the accession of Otho. The news made no impression on the soldiers. Unmoved by joy or fear, they thought of nothing but the spoils of war. The Gauls, released by this event from their attachment to Galba, were now at liberty to choose their party. Otho and Vitellius were objects of their detestation; but they feared the latter. The army proceeded on their march to the territory of the Lingones, a people well disposed towards Vitellius.

y met with a friendly reception, and passed their in acts of mutual kindness. But this amicable :course was interrupted by the intemperance of cohort which had been separated, as already men- ed, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens in- orated with his army. Being of the Batavian na- , and by nature fierce and warlike, they lived on terms with the legions. Opprobrious words passed reen them; from words contention arose: the le- ary soldiers entered into the dispute, and joined the rent parties as judgment or inclination prompted. quarrel rose to such a pitch that, if Valens had interposed, and by making a few examples recalled Batavians to a sense of their duty, a bloody battle t have been the consequence.

colorable pretext for falling on the Æduans was ardent wish of the army; but that people not only plied with the demand of money and arms, but d a voluntary supply of provisions. What was done by the Æduans through motives of fear, the le of Lyons performed with inclination and zeal erve the cause of Vitellius. From that city the c legion and the Taurinian cavalry were ordered in the army. The eighteenth cohort, which had used to winter there, was left in garrison. Man- Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion. officer had rendered good service to the cause; his services were repaid with ingratitude by Vitel-

The fact was, Fabius Valens, the commander- hief, had given a secret stab to his reputation, and, over his malice, played an artful game, with all plausible appearance of sly hypocrisy. In public raised the person whom he wounded in the dark.

XV. The late war had kindled afresh the deadly

feud which had long subsisted between the Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne. In th battles, which they had fought with alternat and prodigious slaughter, it was visible that animosity was not merely the effect of party contest between Nero and Galba. The people had felt the weight of Galba's displeasure: their revenues wrested out of their hands a cated to the imperial treasury, while their enemies enjoyed the favors of the emperor. new source of jealousy. The two cities were by a river; but they were hostile neighbors, saw each other with inflamed resentment. and malice were not to be appeased. The c Lyons omitted nothing that could excite th against their rivals: they talked with the man by man, and nothing less than the utter tion of Vienne could satisfy their indignation. they said, 'had been besieged by their mo mies, who had taken up arms in the cause of and lately raised recruits to complete the l the service of Galba.' To these incentives th the temptation of plunder in a rich and opu Finding that they had infused their rancor minds of the soldiers, they no longer dep secret practices, but openly and in a body their petition, imploring the army to march redressers of wrong, and rase to the ground a had been the nursery of war and a hive of a foreign race, who hated the Roman name. they said, was a confederate colony, a porti army willing at all times to share in the go *fortune* of the empire. The issue of the pr *might* be disastrous to their party. They

implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a defeat, at the mercy of a furious and implacable enemy.

LXVI. These intreaties had their effect. The legions were roused to vengeance; and the flame rose to such a height, that the commanders and other officers despaired of being able to extinguish it. The inhabitants of Vienne had notice of their danger. They came forth in solemn procession, bearing in their hands[1] the sacred vestments, and all the usual tokens of peace and humble supplication. They met the Romans on their march, and falling prostrate on the ground, clasped their knees, and in a pathetic strain deprecated the vengeance ready to burst on them. Fabius Valens judged it expedient to order a distribution of three hundred sesterces to each man. The soldiers began to relent, and the colony was respected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded in behalf of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The state however was obliged to furnish a supply of arms and warlike stores. Individuals, with emulation, contributed from their private stock. The report however was, that the people in good time applied a large sum of money, and purchased the protection of the commander-in-chief. Thus much is certain, that after being for a long time depressed with poverty, he grew suddenly rich, but took no pains to conceal his affluence. The art of rising in the world with moderation was not the talent of Valens. His passions had been restrained by indigence; and now, when fortune smiled, the sudden taste of pleasure

1 Olive branches and sacred vestments were usually displayed in cases of distress, when the conquered sued for mercy. *So we read in Livy*, xxiv. 30.

hurried him into excess. A beggar in his was in old age a voluptuous prodigal.

The army proceeded by slow marches t territory of the Allobrogians, and thence contians; the general, during the whol making his market at every place, and sell vors for a sum of money. For a bribe h length of each day's march, and shifted his price agreed on between him and the ow lands. In all these exactions Valens e orders with unrelenting cruelty; nor did drive open bargains with the magistrates of cities. Torches and firebrands were prep the town of Lucus, situate in the territory contians; and the place would infallibly burnt to the ground if the people had no themselves with a considerable sum. W niary bribes were not to be had women w to resign their persons, and prostitution price of common humanity. In this mann ing his avarice, or his brutal passions, Val at the foot of the Alps.

LXVII. Cæcina, who commanded the se marked his way with greater rapine and m cruelty. He found in the territory of the abundant cause to provoke a man of his fer per. The people of that district, original nation,[1] were renowned in former times f lor and their exploits in war. Of late ye tory of their ancestors was their only g having heard of the death of Galba, they

1 The territory of the Helvetii was a part of *more* extensive than what is now called Switz *people* are celebrated by Julius Cæsar for their *tue* and constant warfare with the Germans.

ng to acknowlege Vitellius. In this disposition of ıeir minds they had soon a cause of quarrel, occaoned by the rapacity of the twenty-first legion. That ›dy of men fell in with a party who were escorting a ım of money to a strong fort, where the Helvetians ıd immemorially maintained a garrison. The Roans seized the whole as lawful plunder. An act of olence so unwarranted raised the indignation of the ›ople. Determined to make reprisals, they interpted a small party on their way to Pannonia, with tters from the German army to the legions stationed that country. They seized the papers, and detained custody a centurion with some of his soldiers. This such a man as Cæcina was ample provocation. He ished for nothing so much as a pretence for open ›stility. Whenever he took umbrage he struck his ow without delay. To defer the punishment were leave time for repentance. He marched against the elvetians; and having laid waste the country, sacked place, built during the leisure of a long peace, in the rm of a municipal town, remarkable for the beauty the situation, and by reason of its salubrious waters[1] uch frequented. Not content with this act of revenge, ; sent dispatches into Rhætia, with orders to the ıxiliaries of that country to hang on the rear of the elvetians, while he advanced to attack them in front.

LXVIII. The spirit of the Helvetians, fierce and ıtrepid while the danger was at a distance, began to roop as soon as the war drew nearer. In the beginıng of these hostilities they had chosen Claudius Seerus to command their forces; but terror and confu-

1 Brotier says this place was called in ancient inscriptions espublica Aquensis, on account of the salubrity of the aters. He supposes it to be what is now called Baden, in *witzerland.*

sion followed. They neither knew the use of their arms nor the advantage of discipline. To keep their ranks in battle was not their practice, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest, they now perceived, must be unequal with a veteran army; and their fortifications being every where in decay, to stand a siege was not advisable. Cæcina advanced at the head of a numerous army; the cavalry and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, inured to arms, and trained to the art of war, were ready to attack them in the rear. The country was laid waste, and a dreadful carnage followed. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and after wandering about in a general panic, wounded, maimed, and unable to resist, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain known by the name of Vocetius. A band of Thracians was sent to dislodge them. Driven from their fastness, they betook themselves to the woods, or fled to their lurking-places, while the Germans and Rhætians hung on them in their flight. Several thousands were put to the sword or sold to slavery. Having ravaged the country, and laid a scene of desolation, the army marched to the siege of Aventicum, the capital city of the Helvetians. The inhabitants sent their deputies, offering to surrender at discretion. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

LXIX. The Helvetians sent their ambassadors to the new emperor; but which was most implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The soldiers clamored for the utter destruction of the whole race. They brandished their arms in the face of the ambas-

sadors, and threatened blows and brutal violence. Vitellius showed no less ferocity. He gave vent to a torrent of abuse, and threw out violent menaces. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, who possessed an uncommon share of eloquence, but had the skill, under an appearance of well-acted terror, to conceal his power over the passions of his audience, had the address to soothe the minds of the soldiers. Their rage subsided, and compassion took its turn. Such is the nature of the multitude; easily inflamed, and with a sudden transition shifting to the opposite extreme. They melted into tears, and never ceased their supplications till they prevailed on Vitellius, and saved the people from destruction.

LXX. Cæcina, wanting farther instructions from Vitellius, and at the same time making all proper arrangements for his passage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that situation he received intelligence that the squadron of horse called Sylla's squadron, at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had sworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly served under Vitellius, when he was the proconsular governor of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into Egypt, ordered them to sail for that country; but being soon after alarmed by the commotions stirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and closely connected with Vitellius, espoused the interest of the latter. By representing to the men the strength of the legions then on their march to the invasion of Italy, and by extolling the valor of the German armies, they drew the whole squadron into their party. As a farther proof of their zeal for their new prince, they *attracted to his interest* the chief municipal towns on

the side of the Po; namely, Mediolanum, Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercelles. Of this fact Cæcina was apprised by dispatches from the officers. But a single squadron, he knew, was not sufficient to defend so large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them he sent forward the cohorts of Gaul, of Lusitania, and Britain, with the succors from Germany, and the squadron of horse called the 'ala petrina.' How he himself should pass into Italy was his next consideration. His first plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains, in order to make a descent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, supposed to be a partisan in Otho's service, was busy in collecting forces, and destroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterprise was soon relinquished. The detachment already sent forward might be cut off, and after all, the secure possession of Italy was the important object. The issue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall by consequence into the hands of the conqueror. He resolved therefore to proceed by the shortest way into Italy. For this purpose he ordered the troops lightly armed to proceed on their journey; and, with the legions heavily armed, he marched himself over the Penine Alps, through a waste of snow and all the rigors of the winter season.

LXXI. Otho, in the mean time, displayed a new and unexpected character. He renounced his love of pleasure, or at least dissembled for the present. Scorning to loiter in luxury and inglorious ease, he assumed a spirit becoming the majesty of empire. And yet the change diffused a general terror: men knew that his virtues were false, and they dreaded a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celsus, the consul *elect*, whom he had put in irons in order to rescue

im from the hands of the soldiers, to appear before im in the capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, y releasing a man of illustrious character, and well nown to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the bject of his ambition. Celsus appeared with unshaken onstancy. He confessed the crime of adhering faith-ılly to the unfortunate Galba, and by that firmness ave the emperor a fair opportunity to grace his cha-acter. Otho did not assume the tone of a sovereign ranting pardon to a criminal; but, to show that he ould think generously of an enemy, and to remove ll doubt of the sincerity of his reconciliation, he re-eived Celsus among his intimate friends, and in a hort time afterwards appointed him one of his gene-als to conduct the war. Celsus accepted the commis-ion, and remained steady to his trust. His fidelity vas honorable, but unfortunate. The clemency of the ›rince gave great satisfaction to the leading men at ome; the populace applauded, and even the soldiers ıdmired the virtue which they had condemned.

LXXII. The joy excited on this occasion was fol-owed by an event no less acceptable, but for reasons ›f a different nature. The public voice was loud ıgainst Sophonius Tigellinus, and accordingly his loom was fixed. From low beginnings this man had ·aised himself to eminence in the state. His birth vas obscure. Stained in his youth with the worst mpurities, he retained in his advanced years all his ıarly habits, and closed with disgrace a life begun in nfamy. By his vices, the surest road to preferment, ıe obtained the command, first of the city cohorts, ınd afterwards of the pretorian guards. The rewards vhich were due to virtue only he obtained by his :rimes. To his effeminate qualities he united some of *those rougher evils* which may be called manly pas-

sions, such as avarice and cruelty. Having gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Nero, he was in some instances the adviser of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowlege of his master. He corrupted Nero at first, and in the end deserted him. Hence it was that the blood of a criminal was never demanded with such violent clamor. The men who detested the memory of Nero, and those who still regretted him, concurred in one opinion. They all joined in the cry for public justice. During the short reign of Galba he lived secure under the protection of Titus Vinius. In fact, he had some merit with that minister, having saved the life of his daughter; but in that very act humanity was not his motive. A man who had shed so much innocent blood could not be suspected of a single virtue. His design was, by a new connexion to screen himself from future danger.

Such at all times is the policy of the worst of men: they dread a reverse of fortune, and in the hour of need hope to shelter themselves under the protection of some pernicious favorite. Innocence is no part of their care; they know that the guilty are ever ready to defend each other. But the friendship of Vinius, who was still remembered with detestation, was an additional spur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they surrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre where licentiousness is most apt to show itself, they clamored with a degree of violence little short of sedition for the punishment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the baths of Sinuessa. Orders were sent to him to put a period to his life. He received *the* fatal news in a circle of his concubines: he took *leave* with tenderness; and after mutual embraces,

and other trifling delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the pusillanimity of his last moments disgracing even the infamy of his former life.

LXXIII. About the same time the execution of Calvia Crispinilla was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with dishonor, she was saved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the professed teacher of lascivious pleasures, and in the various scenes of that emperor the caterer for his appetite. She passed afterwards into Africa, and having instigated Clodius Macer to revolt, became an accomplice in the plot to cause a famine in the city of Rome. She was married soon after to a man of consular rank, and by that connexion gained a powerful interest; insomuch that, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, she lived in perfect security. Even in the following reign she was high in credit. Her riches and her want of children placed her in a florishing state; and those two circumstances in good as well as evil times, are sure to be of weight.

LXXIV. Otho, in the mean time, endeavored by frequent letters to divert Vitellius from his purpose. His proposals were in the soft style of female persuasion; he offered money, and a retreat for voluptuous enjoyments, with all that the prince's favor could bestow. Vitellius answered in the same delicate strain. Both parties corresponded in dainty terms, with dissembled hatred and frivolous negotiation, till exasperated by want of success, they changed their tone, and with unguarded invective charged each other with criminal pleasures and flagitious deeds. Both had truth on their side. Weary of altercation, Otho recalled the deputies who had been sent by Galba, and in their room despatched others to the German army, to the

Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with instructions to negotiate in the name of the senate. The men employed in this embassy tarried with Vitellius, and by their cheerful compliance left no room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honor to the embassy, Otho had sent a detachment of the pretorian guards. Without suffering them to mix with the soldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write in the name of the German army to the pretorian guards. His letters, in a style of magnificence, set forth the strength of the legions, and at the same time offered terms of mutual concord. He condemned the forward zeal with which they presumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been vested in Vitellius. He mingled promises with expressions of anger, and after treating the pretorians as men unequal to an important war, gave them assurances that they would lose nothing by peace and unanimity. These letters however were without effect. The pretorians continued firm in their duty.

LXXV. The rival chiefs began to lay snares for each other. They waged a war of treachery. Emissaries were sent by Otho into Germany, and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties missed their aim. The agents of Vitellius passed undetected. Amidst a concourse of people, in so vast a city as Rome, they could lurk with impunity; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were soon discovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius, anxious for his family, then residing at Rome, sent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children, to make reprisals, and put both him and his son to death. Both

families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, after his victory, added to his laurels the palm of clemency.

LXXVI. The first occurrence that inspired Otho with confidence in his cause was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia, and Mœsia, had declared in his favor. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict honorable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province. That compliment however was found to be premature. Spain went over to the interest of Vitellius. The people of Aquitaine, under the influence of Julius Cordus, had sworn obedience to Otho; but a little time showed that the obligation of an oath was no longer binding. All principle, all affection, and all truth were banished. Fear, and the necessity of the times, governed in every quarter. Narbon Gaul acceded to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in drawing their neighbors into a league with themselves. The distant provinces, and all places separated by the Mediterranean, adhered to Otho, not from motives of regard for him or his party, but because the name of Rome and the senate were still respected by foreign nations. Besides this, Otho, being the first announced in foreign parts, had already made his impression. The army in Judea under the conduct of Vespasian, and that in Syria, under Mucianus, swore fidelity to Otho. Egypt, and the provinces in the East, acknowleged his authority. The same disposition prevailed in Africa. That whole country was willing to follow the example set by the people of Carthage. In that city, without any order or authority from Vipsanius Apronianus, then proconsular governor of the province, a public treat was given by a pragmatical fel-

low, of the name of Crescens, one of Nero's freedmen, who had the ambition to distinguish himself as an active partisan in the interest of Otho. Such, in times of public distraction, is the presumption of the lowest men in the state. They think it time to emerge from their obscurity, and act their part as if they had an interest in the commonwealth. The mob of Carthage expressed their zeal with all demonstrations of joy, and the rest of Africa followed their example.

LXXVII. In this posture of affairs, while the armies and the several provinces embraced opposite interests, it was evident that Vitellius, to secure his title, had nothing left but the decision of the sword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, discharging all the functions of the sovereign power, as if he was established in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in some instances, was such as became the dignity of the state; but his measures, for the most part, were hastily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himself and his brother Titianus joint consuls,[1]

1 The number of consuls in the course of this eventful year was so great that it will not be useless to place the list in one view before the eye of the reader.

A. U. C. 822.	Consuls.
On the calends of January, Hist. i. 1.	Galba, Vinius.
Calends of March, Hist. i. 77.	Salvius Otho, Titianus Otho.
Calends of May, Hist. i. 77.	Verginius Rufus, Pompeius Vopiscus.
Calends of July, Hist. i. 77.	Cælius Sabinus, Flavius Sabinus.
Calends of September, Hist. i. 77.	Arrius Antoninus, Marius Celsus.
Calends of November, Hist. ii. 1.	Fabius Valens, Alienus Cæcina.

Cæcina being pronounced a traitor by the senate on the day

to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to curry favor with the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Poppæus Vopiscus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendship; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future consuls, no alteration was made in the arrangement settled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to succeed for the months of May and June. From the first of July to September, Arrius Antoninus [1] and Marius Celsus were to be in office. Nor did Vitellius, after his victory, disturb this order of succession. Otho at the same time thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the summit of civil honors, to such of the senators as were grown grey in public stations; nor was he unmindful of the young patricians lately recalled from banishment. To soothe the remembrance of their sufferings, he bestowed on them the sacerdotal honors which had been enjoyed by their ancestors. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæsus, and Sævinus Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the senate, were restored to their rank. To varnish this proceeding, the real offence was suppressed, and what was in fact public rapine, in the style of the pardon took the name of violated majesty: a charge held in such gene-

before the calends of January, A. U. C. 823, the consul for a single day, being the last of the year, was Roscius Regulus; Hist. iii. 37.

1 Arrius Antoninus, who appears in the foregoing list of consuls, was grandfather to Antoninus Pius, the upright and virtuous emperor.

ral detestation, that to elude it the best and wisest laws were set aside.

LXXVIII. In order to extend his popularity, Otho in the next place turned his thoughts to the cities and provinces, little doubting but by acts of munificence he should be able to strengthen his interest. To the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita, then on the decline, he transplanted a number of families: the Lingones were honored with the privileges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Moorish cities were annexed. He gave a new code of laws to Cappadocia and another to Africa; all popular grants, and splendid for the present, but soon to fade away and sink into oblivion. Amidst these innovations, all of them temporising acts, occasioned by the pressure of his affairs, and perhaps on that account excusable, he did not forget his tender passions. Even in the moment when the sovereign power was still at stake, his love of Poppæa was not extinguished. With fond remembrance of that connexion, he caused her statues to be restored by a decree of the senate. There is reason to think that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero with public honors. Many were for erecting the statues of that emperor, and even proposed it as a public measure. The populace and the soldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional splendor, saluted him by the title of Nero Otho. He heard their acclamations but remained silent; perhaps unwilling to reject the compliment, perhaps ashamed to accept it.

LXXIX. The public mind being now intent on the great scene that began to open, no wonder if foreign affairs fell into neglect. Encouraged by the inattention

it prevailed at Rome, the Rhoxolanians, a people of rmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two ire cohorts, made an irruption into the province of esia with nine thousand horse; a band of free-oters, determined to ravage the country. Plunder, d not war, was their passion. They prowled about quest of prey, without order or apprehension of an emy, when on a sudden they found themselves mmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries. ie Romans advanced in order of battle. The Sar-atians, overloaded with booty, were taken by sur-ise. On a damp and slippery soil the swiftness of eir horses was of no use. Unable to retreat, they ere cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, an soldiers armed for the field of battle. It may em strange, but it is not less true, that the courage the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends together on external circumstances; a kind of cou-ge that has no source in the mind, but may be said be out of the man. In an engagement with the ifantry, nothing can be more dastardly; in an onset the cavalry, they are impetuous, fierce, and irre-stible. Their weapons are long spears or sabres of a enormous size, which they wield with both hands. he chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of on, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to ie enemy, but to themselves an incumbrance so nwieldy, that he who falls in battle is never able to ise again.

In their encounter with the Romans, a heavy fall of ain and a sudden thaw deprived them of all ad-antage from the velocity of their horses: the conse-uence was, that they were overwhelmed in a deep aste of snow. The light breastplates of the Romans *ere no impediment*. With their missive weapons,

and their swords of a moderate length, they were able to rush into the thickest ranks; while the Sarmatians, who wear neither shield nor buckler, were a mark at a distance, or in close engagement cut to pieces. The few who escaped from the slaughter fled for refuge to their fens and marshes, and there died of their wounds, or perished under the inclemency of the season. An account of this transaction being received at Rome, a triumphal statue was decreed to Marcus Aponius, then governor of Mœsia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Nimisius Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the consular ornaments. The joy expressed by Otho was beyond all bounds. He assumed the merit of the victory, boasting with vainglory, that by his own auspicious fortune, and the valor of his officers and his armies, he had aggrandised the Roman name.

LXXX. From a cause altogether contemptible, and in its origin threatening no kind of danger, a violent sedition well-nigh involved the city in ruin. The seventeenth cohort, then quartered at Ostia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a tribune of the pretorian bands. That officer, intending to execute his orders without noise or bustle, chose his time towards the close of day, when the camp was quiet. He opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons to be loaded. The lateness of the hour filled the men with suspicion; the intention seemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of secrecy produced a general tumult. The soldiers were in liquor, and at the sight of their arms, reasoning like drunken men, they thought it their business to seize them without delay. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud that a dark con-

spiracy was formed, with intention to arm the slaves and domestics of the senators against the life of Otho. A scene of uproar and confusion followed. Some were stupified with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate liked the opportunity to commit midnight plunder; and the multitude, as usual, were ready to mix in any sudden commotion. Those who regarded discipline and good order were undistinguished in the dark. The tribune who attempted to restrain their fury was murdered on the spot. The centurions, who exerted themselves on the occasion, suffered in like manner. The soldiers seized their arms; they mounted their horses, and entering the city sword in hand, rushed in a body to the imperial palace.

LXXXI. Otho was engaged at a grand entertainment, to which he had invited the most distinguished of both sexes. A sudden terror seized the whole company. The cause was unknown. Was it an accidental fray among the soldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? What was to be done? Should they stay and perish together? or was it more advisable to disperse, and fly different ways? In the hurry and agitation no one could decide. They made a show of resolution: their courage failed; they stood covered with consternation, and with their eyes fixed on Otho, endeavored to peruse his countenance. The usual fate of suspicious minds attended them all. They were afraid of Otho, and he stood trembling for himself. He trembled also for the senate, and thought of their danger no less than of his own. He ordered the two pretorian commanders to go forth in order to appease the tumult, and in the mean time advised his company to depart. They fled with precipitation. The magistrates threw aside the ensigns of their office, and dispersed *without* their friends, without their train of

attendants. Old men and women of distinction wandered about in the dark they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greatest part took shelter with their friends; and where the meanest of their dependants lived, that place they thought the safest place of refuge.

LXXXII. The madness of the soldiers was not to be controlled. They burst the palace gates, and rushed forward to the banqueting-room, with outrageous clamor demanding a sight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the prefect of the legion, endeavored to oppose the torrent, and were both wounded in the fray. Nothing was to be seen but the flash of arms, and nothing heard but threats and denunciations of vengeance, now against the centurions, and at times against the whole body of the senate. The soldiers neither knew the cause nor the object of their frensy, and having no particular victim in view, they resolved to lay a scene of general slaughter. They forced their way into the apartment of the prince. Otho, forgetting his own rank, and the majesty of empire, stood on his couch, with tears and supplications imploring the soldiers to desist. He prevailed at length. The men retired to the camp, with a sullen spirit, and guilt at their hearts. On the following day Rome had the appearance of a city taken by assault. The houses were shut, the streets deserted, the populace in a general panic. The soldiers wandered about in a sullen mood, with looks of discontent rather than repentance. The two prefects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the several companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in soothing terms, or in a style of reproach. A distribution of five thousand sesterces to each man con-

cluded the business. The tumult over, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their rank, praying to be dismissed from the service, that they might retire to live in ease and safety. The soldiers felt the request as a reproach for their own conduct. Remorse and sorrow took possession of every mind. They expressed their willingness to return to their duty, and of their own motion desired to see the authors of the insurrection brought to punishment.

LXXXIII. In this delicate conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a discordant soldiery heightened the distraction, Otho felt that he had a difficult game to play. All who wished well to the service called for an immediate reform of the army; while on the other hand the loose and profligate, always the greatest number, liked nothing so well as tumult and insurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader. To such minds, Otho knew that the strongest motives to a civil war are the hopes of growing rich by the spoils of the public; nor was he to learn that power obtained by guilt is incompatible with a new system of laws and the rigor of ancient manners. But still the danger that hung over the city and the Roman senate filled him with anxiety. In this alarming situation he spoke to the following effect:—

'I come not now, my fellow-soldiers, to excite your zeal for me and the cause in which we are engaged; much less do I come to add new ardor to your courage. Both are too well known; they need no incentive. Perhaps some restraint may be necessary; perhaps the zeal that pervades you all requires a degree

of moderation. In the late tumult, it was not the love of plunder, nor ill-will to any man, or any set of men, that urged you on. From those motives discord and mutiny have often broke out in various armies; but on your conduct they had no effect. Nor was there in that transaction any fear of danger, or so much as a wish to renounce your duty. It was your regard for me, sincere indeed, but generous to excess, that hurried you on to acts of intemperance and even violence. You listened to your passions, but not to your judgment; and where judgment does not direct and guide, the best counsels and the best cause are often ruined. We are going forth to a great and important war: and must all intelligence be communicated to the army? must every secret be disclosed? and must counsels of war be held in a public assembly of the soldiers? The reason of things, and the opportunity which must be seized at once or lost for ever, will not allow a mode of proceeding so slow and dangerous to the service. To know some things is the duty of the soldier; in others, not to be informed is his happiness, and submission is his virtue. Even the tribunes and centurions must often receive their orders without a reason assigned: to know the motives that weigh with the general, is not their province; to obey is the duty of the inferior officer. If every subaltern may discuss the operations of war, and cavil with the commander-in-chief, subordination ceases, discipline is at an end, and the best concerted enterprise may be defeated. And are we now to imagine that the soldier, when the enemy is at hand, may seize his arms, and as caprice or fancy prompts, sally forth in the dead of night? Shall two or three drunken men (in the last night's *fray* I do not believe there were more) imbrue their

hands in the blood of their officers? Shall they murder the centurions, and in a fit of frenzy rush to the pavilion of their general?

LXXXIV. 'You, my fellow-soldiers, have transgressed the bounds of your duty; the fact must be admitted; but your zeal for me was the cause. And yet reflect for a moment, what might have been the consequence. Amidst that general uproar, in the gloom of midnight darkness, the assassin's blow might have been aimed at me, whom you wished to defend. Give Vitellius his option; let him and his rebel soldiers have the power of choosing, and what greater cause could they invoke? what calamity could they call down on us, so much to be dreaded, as a turbulent and factious spirit, and all the evils of discord and sedition? Let the soldier refuse to obey his centurion; let the centurion shake off the authority of the tribune; let cavalry and the foot soldiers be intermixed, without order or distinction; and let us all in one promiscuous body go forward to the war. Need our enemies wish for more? We should rush on sure destruction. It is obedience, my fellow-soldiers, implicit, prompt obedience,[1] without pausing to wrangle with our superior officer, that gives to military operations all their energy. The army that shows itself in time of peace attentive to discipline and good order is sure to be the most formidable in the day of battle. It is yours to arm in the cause of your country, and to face the enemy with heroic valor: be it mine to form the plan of operations, and in the execution to

1 This rule of military subordination stands confirmed by experience in every age and country. We read in Livy a speech of Paulus Æmilius to the same effect.

direct and guide the courage of the army. The guilt of last night extends to a few only; and of those few two only shall expiate the offence. That done, let us bury in oblivion the horrors of that shameful tumult; and may no other army hear those dreadful imprecations uttered against a Roman senate! Against that venerable body, the head of the empire, and the fountain from which justice flows through the provinces, not even Vitellius, nor his rash-levied crew of Germans, would dare to meditate so vile a deed.

'And can there be in Italy a race of men, the genuine offspring of Roman citizens, who are capable of so foul a parricide? who can lift their impious hands against the sacred order, from whom our cause derives so much lustre, to the confusion of Vitellius and the scum of nations that follows him to the field? Some states, it is true, have been induced to join his standard: he has the appearance of an army; but the senate is on our side. The commonwealth is with us; our enemies are the enemies of Rome. And when I mention Rome, when you yourselves behold that magnificent city, do you imagine that it consists in walls, and buildings, and a pile of stones? Inanimate structures and mute and senseless edifices may moulder away, and rise again out of their ruins; but the stability of empire depends on the senate: on the safety of that august assembly, the welfare of the community, the peace of nations, your fate and mine, are grafted. It was Romulus the founder of the city, and the father of the Roman state, who instituted with solemn auspices that sacred order. It has subsisted in vigor from that time; from the expulsion of Tarquin to the establishment of the Cæsars it has been preserved inviolate. We received it from our an-

cestors; let us transmit it to our posterity, unshaken, unimpaired, immortal. From your order, from the people at large, the senate is supplied with its brightest ornaments; and from the senate you derive a succession of princes.'

LXXXV. This speech, seasoned with reproof, yet tempered with conciliating language, was favorably received: and the moderation of the prince, who punished only two of the mutineers, gave general satisfaction. By that lenient measure the soldiers, too fierce to be controlled, were quieted for the present. Rome however was not in a state of tranquillity. A constant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were seen in every quarter. The soldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies; but being dispersed throughout the city, they found means in various shapes to insinuate themselves into houses, where they watched, with sufficient malignity, the motions and words of all, who by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the same time that Vitellius had a number of emissaries dispersed among the populace to act as spies and watch the state of parties. Hence jealousy, mistrust, and fear. No man thought himself safe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was still greater. Whatever was the rumor of the day, all degrees and ranks were obliged to set their faces for the occasion: if bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond; and if propitious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy. With events of either kind their features were taught to comply.

The fathers had the hardest task. Silence in the *senate might be* thought sullen discontent, and liberty

of speech might be deemed a crime. Adulation itself was at a stand. Who could deceive a prince who was but lately a private man, and in that station practised flattery till he became a perfect master of that insidious art? The fathers were driven to little stratagems; they tortured every sentence into a thousand forms, and to diversify one and the same thought, all the colors of rhetoric were exhausted. All agreed to call Vitellius a public enemy and a parricide. This was the burden of every speech. Cautious men, who looked forward to their own security, avoided entering into particulars, content with hackneyed declamation: others, without reserve or management, poured out a torrent of virulent invective, but generally chose to rise in the midst of noise and clamor, when nothing could be distinctly heard, and the speaker could mouth and bellow without the danger of being understood or remembered.

LXXXVI. A number of prodigies, announced from different quarters, diffused a general panic. The goddess of victory, in the vestibule of the capitol, let the reins of two horses harnessed to her chariot fall from her hand. A form of more than human size was seen to issue from the chapel of Juno. In an island in the Tiber,[1] the statue of Julius Cæsar, without any apparent cause, on a day perfectly serene and calm, turned round from the west to the east. In Etruria an ox was said to have spoken: animals brought forth monstrous births: and to these was added a variety of preternatural appearances, such as in rude and barbarous ages were the coinage of superstition; and even in profound peace made an impression on vulgar

1 The isle in the Tiber, now called Isola di St. Bartolomeo.

credulity, though of late years they have so far lost their effect, that unless it be a time of public distress, they pass away unheeded and forgotten. Amidst the omens, which seemed to threaten impending danger, an inundation of the Tiber was the most alarming. The waters swelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country. The Sublician bridge was carried away by the flood; and the ruins that fell in, obstructing the course of the river, the torrent was driven back with such impetuous violence, that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds were covered with a general deluge.[1] The people in the streets were swallowed up, and numbers were drowned in their shops and in their beds. The corn in the public granaries was destroyed; a famine ensued, and the common people were reduced to the last distress. The waters that lay for some time in the streets of Rome sapped the foundation of several insulated houses; and when the flood fell back into its channel, the superstructure tumbled to the ground. This disaster was no sooner over than a new occurrence spread a general terror. Otho was preparing to set out on his expedition. His way was over the field of Mars and the Flaminian road; but both places were impassable. This circumstance, though accidental, or the effect of natural causes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the slaughter of armies and a train of public calamities.

LXXXVII. The emperor ordered a lustration, and having purified the city, turned his thoughts to

1 The Sublician bridge, so called, because built with wood. A foundation of solid marble was laid afterwards, but nothing remains at present but the ruins.

the conduct of the war. The Penine and the Cottian Alps, with all the passes into Italy, were in the possession of Vitellius and his armies. Otho resolved therefore to make a descent on the coast of Narbon Gaul with a fleet well manned, and in force to keep the command of those seas. All who survived the massacre at the Milvian bridge, and had been by Galba's orders thrown into prison, were released by Otho, and incorporated with the legions. He depended on the fidelity of those men; and by giving to others the like hopes of preferment, he inspired the whole body with zeal and ardor. In order to strengthen his fleet he embarked the city cohorts, and a considerable detachment from the pretorian guards; a body of men capable of defending their generals by their courage, and of assisting with their advice. The conduct of the marine was committed to three officers; namely, Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, both centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a tribune degraded by Galba, but since the death of that emperor restored to his rank. A freedman of the name of Oscus was appointed to direct the operations of the fleet, and act as a spy on better men than himself. The land forces, both horse and infantry, were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius Celsus, and Annius Gallus. To them was added Licinius Proculus, the prefect of the pretorians, and in him Otho reposed his whole confidence. This officer, in time of peace, discharged the functions of his station with sufficient ability; but he had seen no service, and had therefore no skill in military affairs. He had talents for mischief, and knew how to obstruct the authority of Paulinus, to check the ardor of Celsus, and to thwart the judgment of Gallus. An

enemy to every excellence of those three officers, he found, as usually happens, that worth and modest merit were no match for malice and left-handed policy.

LXXXVIII. Before Otho set out from Rome Cornelius Dolabella was by his order conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony, there to be kept out of the way, but not in close confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family and his affinity to Galba. Several magistrates, and others of consular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to assist in the war by their counsels or their valor, but to swell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was suffered to mix with the rest of the train, undistinguished either as the brother of one emperor or the enemy of another. During these preparations Rome presented a scene of hurry and confusion. No order of men was exempt from fear or danger. The principal senators, enfeebled by age, or softened by a long peace; the nobility sunk in sloth; and the Roman knights, who had lost their warlike spirit, were all obliged to put themselves in readiness. They assumed an air of courage, but their fears were seen through the vain disguise. Some affected to make a display of their alacrity. They bought with vain ostentation the most splendid armor, horses for parade, and all the conveniences of a luxurious table, as if such implements were a necessary part of their camp-equipage. The wise and moderate thought of nothing but their own safety and the public welfare: while the vain and senseless, whose views did not extend to remote consequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all who were bankrupts both

in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the distractions of their country that security which in quiet times they had never known.

LXXXIX. The people at large, unacquainted with the secrets of state, and of course free from solicitude, began however to feel the ill effects of the impending war. They saw the public revenue exhausted in the service of the army; they labored under a scarcity of provisions, and the price was rising every day; whereas, in the troubles stirred up by Vindex, none of those inconveniences affected the city of Rome. That commotion was at a distance, a war in the remote parts of Gaul, decided between the legions and the provincial insurgents. The Roman citizens looked on in perfect tranquillity, as if it were no more than a foreign quarrel. From the reign of Augustus, when that emperor established the power of the Cæsars, this had constantly been the case. The issue of every war affected the sovereign only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the worst calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus[1] to shake the authority of Claudius was crushed as soon as discovered. Nero was undone by rumors and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the present juncture, the face of

1 Furius Camillus Scribonianus commanded in Dalmatia, A. U. C. 795. Being a man of enterprise and bold ambition, he induced the soldiers to swear fidelity to himself, and went into open rebellion. His letters to the emperor Claudius were written in a tone of menace, requiring him to abdicate and live a private citizen. In the mean time the rebel legions, with the versatility common to the military mind, returned to their duty; Scribonianus fled to a small island of the Adriatic, on the coast of Illyricum, and there was seized and put to death by Volaginius, a common soldier, on the fifth day of his revolt; Suet. in Claudio, § 35. See Tacitus, Hist. ii. 75.

things was changed. The pressure was felt at home. The fleets and legions were in motion, and, beyond all example, the pretorian bands and city cohorts were obliged to take the field. The east and west were engaged in the contest; the several provinces which the leading chiefs left behind them were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. Otho was now on the point of beginning his march. A scruple was started to deter him from proceeding till the ceremony of depositing the sacred shields called the ancilia[1] was performed with due rites and ceremonies. He rejected the advice. Delay had been the ruin of Nero, and Cæcina by this time had passed the Alps. The time called for vigor and expedition.

XC. On the day preceding the ides of March Otho called a meeting of the senate. He recommended the care of the commonwealth to the wisdom of that assembly, and ordered the property of such as had been recalled from banishment since the death of Nero to be restored to the respective owners. To this liberality nothing could be objected; it was an act of justice, in appearance magnificent, but of little use, as the public officers had already seized the whole into their own hands. From the senate Otho proceeded to harangue the people: he talked in a pompous style of the fathers, and the majesty of the Roman citizens.

1 Numa, the founder of religious ceremonies, made the Romans believe, that as long as they preserved the celestial arms, called *ancilia*, which, he said, were sent down by the gods, Rome would prove invincible, and triumph over all her enemies. Accordingly we read in Livy the procession of the Salian priests, on stated days, attending the Ancilia with song and dance through the streets of Rome; Livy, i. 20. *This institution* was neglected by Otho; Suetonius, life of *Otho, § 8.*

He mentioned the adverse party in managed terms, imputing to the legions error in judgment rather than a turbulent and factious spirit. Of Vitellius he made no mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or more probably, because the writer of the speech, looking forward to his own safety, thought it prudent to exclude all personal invective. For the last opinion there seems to be some foundation. In all military operations, Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were Otho's confidential advisers; but in matters that concerned the civil administration, Galerius Trachalus[1] was the person on whose talents he relied. That minister had gained reputation at the bar; and those who were best acquainted with his mode of eloquence, and the harmony of his copious periods, discovered in the composition of the speech the style and manner of that celebrated orator. Otho was received with acclamations: the populace, according to custom, yielded to the impulse of the moment, full of sound and servile adulation, but nothing from the heart. You would have thought that it was Cæsar the dictator, or Augustus the emperor, for whom they contended with so much emulation. And yet, in all this show of zeal, there was at the bottom neither love nor fear: servility was the motive; all courted the yoke, and all rushed headlong into slavery. The public at this time presented no better spectacle than what is seen every day in a family of domestic slaves: each individual had his own private views; and for the public interest, or the honor of the state, no care remained. Otho was now ready to depart: he left the government of Rome, and the whole weight of empire.

1 M. Valerius Trachulus was joint consul with Silius Italicus, A. U. C. 821.

to his brother Salvius Titianus,[1] and proceeded on his expedition.

1 Otho left the city of Rome on the 24th day of March, as appears from Suetonius, who mentions his neglect of the institutions relating to the Ancilia, as an inauspicious beginning of the war. Suetonius adds that he set out on the day when all who paid their worship to the mother of the gods began the usual ceremonies. Now that day was the 9th of the calends of April, which answers to the 24th of March. See Suetonius, life of Otho, § 8.

END OF VOL. III.

BODLEIANA